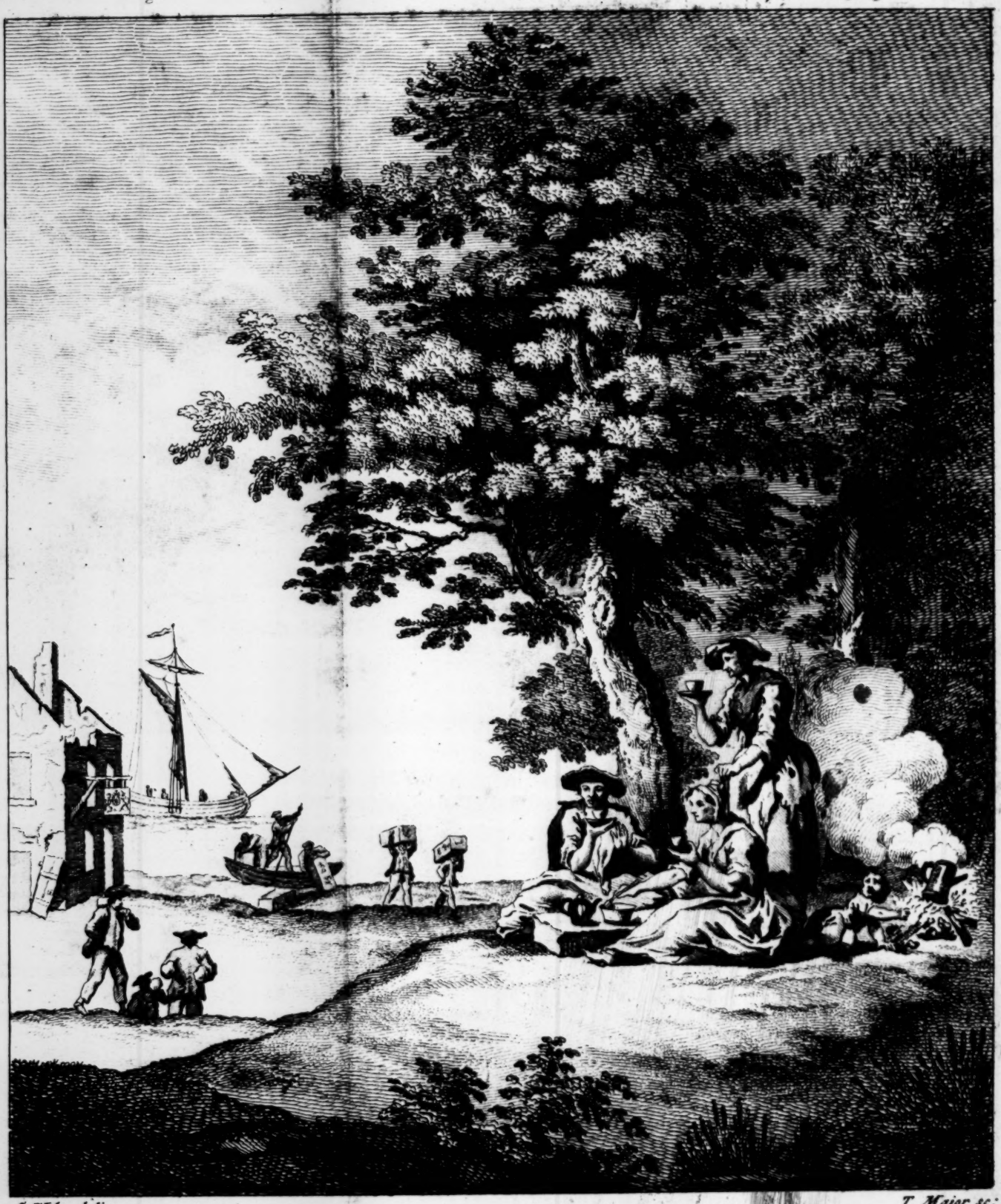
Frontispiece to essay on Tea.



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A JOURNAL OF EIGHT DAYS JOURNEY FROM PORTSMOUTH to KINGSTON UPON THAMES; through SOUTHAMPTON, WILTSHIRE, &c.

WITH

MISCELLANEOUS THOUGHTS, MORAL and RELIGIOUS; IN SIXTY-FOUR LETTERS:

Addressed to two LADIES of the PARTIE.

To which is added

AN ESSAY ON TEA,

Considered as pernicious to HEALTH, obstructing INDUSTRY, and impoverishing the NATION: also an Account of its GROWTH, and great CONSUMPTION in these KINGDOMS,

With Several

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS;

AND

THOUGHTS on PUBLIC LOVE:

In Thirty-two LETTERS to two LADIES.

In TWO VOLUMES.

By Mr. H*****.

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G.R.E. III.

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CONSIDERED

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PART I.

Of the growth of TEA, *manner of* CHINESE *drinking* TEA; *introduction of* TEA *into* ENGLAND; TEA *the cause of many distempers, &c.*

LETTER I.

To Mrs. O*****.

MADAM, *November*, 1755.

YOU are arrived at *home*, but I hope not near the *end* of your journey: you must set out again, and it will give me great pleasure to hear that you take the *right road*, not the beaten track of life, tho' you should find in it the *best* company.

I have yet something to communicate, to which I desire you will lend a serious attention. It is of great importance to the lives and for-

tunes of your fellow ſubjects, and conſequently to the welfare of your country. I do not mean to make you a *merchant* or a *politician* in ſpite of your teeth; but it would be a very ill compliment, to a lady, to ſuppoſe ſhe has no *love* for her *country*, or does not enjoy ſuch a ſhare of *good ſenſe* as generally attends this generous affection.

The preſent occaſion awakens a thought which has often diſturbed my *dreams*. If it is but a *dream*, I think it my happineſs, that the ſubject of it is the *love of my country*. It is indeed a concern of a very intereſting nature; and there is more reaſon to expect redreſs from the *ladies* of this land, than from the moſt learned divine, or the ableſt ſtateſman.

The matter is this, I have long conſidered *tea*, not only as a prejudicial article of commerce; but alſo of a moſt pernicious tendency with regard to domeſtic induſtry and labour; and very injurious to health. I am not bias'd by any private motives or partial conſiderations; and tho' many have had much better opportunities of underſtanding the ſubject than myſelf,

myſelf, yet no perſon, that I know of, has entered fairly into the merits of it in the different lights it appears to me.

To treat the ſubject methodically, let us begin with the growth of *tea*. You who have drank it ſo often, muſt have frequently heard this ſubject diſcuſſed very *learnedly*, and perhaps without one ſingle word of truth. For my own part I have heard variety of accounts, and it is but very lately I have received any tolerable ſatisfaction.

I think, madam, you may be aſſured that the places of the growth of *bohea* and *green tea* are different. Bohea tea, which the *Chineſe* call *Boui*, or *Tcha bou*, i. e. tea bohea, grows in *Fo-kien*, and other provinces, moſtly in the latitude of 24, to 28. The ſhrub which produces this leaf, thrives moſt on riſing ground, in which they make furrows to carry off the water. The diſtinction of the taſtes of *tea*, ariſes, in ſome meaſure, from the ſeaſons, and alſo from the ſoil in which it grows, juſt as we find hay or hops of different years and different places of growth, vary extremely.

Bohea tea is gathered at different times, viz. the *first* in *April*, the leaf being yet young and green: this is what the *Chinese* call *Souchoon*, of which no great quantity, of the true sort, is obtainable, tho' the grocer may give you the *second* sort of tea under this denomination. *Souchoon* is the most grateful to the taste, and of the finest flavor: if any tea is wholsome, this is the most so, and in *China* it is in the highest esteem.

The *second* sort, which the *Chinese* call *congou*, is gathered in *June*; but here also they make many divisions or assortments, all essentially different in quality, according to the soil, and the seasons in which it is gathered.

The *third*, or common sort, goes under the general denomination of *tcha bou*, or *boui*. This is what is sold so extremely cheap at several *European* markets, of which I shall have occasion to say more hereafter. But in this are also many different qualities or degrees of goodness, or *badness*, which you please.

If the first shoots of tea were picked leaf by leaf, as was formerly done in *China*, and not mixed,

mixed, as is now practiſed, we ſhould find a greater difference in the flavor of ſuch tea, compared even with what we yet call *fine tea*, than there is between the delicacy and taſte of young peaſe, and thoſe which are full grown.

The general name which the *Chineſe* give to *green tea*, is *ſonglo*. It grows in a little higher latitude, chiefly in the province of *Kiang-nan*, and generally in a lower ground than the bohea: the ſame care is neceſſary to drain off the water. The ſhrub and leaf of *green tea* are ſo much like thoſe of *bohea*, that it requires the ſkill of a botaniſt to diſtinguiſh them.

Hyſon, or *hyſoon*, ſo called by the *chineſe*, as well as by us, probably from the place of its growth, is either a different ſhrub from the *green* tea, or the leaves are picked in their bud more early: it is alſo diſtinguiſhed by being higher dried, and as it is rendered more criſp, it keeps longeſt: however, this yields at preſent to *fine* green tea, which in your opinion excells in color and flavor.

The fineſt ſort of the green tea, which the *chineſe* call *byng*, and we denominate *imperial*,

its leaf is considerably larger than *hyson*. *Byng* is dear in *China*, and very little of it is brought into *Europe*.

The inferior sort of green is gathered in *August*, of which there are various qualities, according to the soils and different times of gathering, as already mentioned of *bohea*.

The manner of curing these leaves, is by putting them into a vessel like a stew-pan, about a foot deep, and four or five feet diameter, which we call *torches*, probably an *english* name for these vessels, well known also in *India*, under the same denomination. Shaking the leaves over the fire, not only dries, but curls them up in the manner you see them: it is remarkable, that if by any accident tea becomes moist, so as to make a second drying necessary, it cannot be so well packed, but it may be distinguished from other chests or tubs. Tea picked in wet weather can hardly be ever well cured.

Green tea is not cured exactly after the same manner as bohea, for in order to preserve its color, after being partly cured by fire, it is completely

completely finished in the sun, which at certain times, is intensely hot in *China*.

You will please to observe, that besides *tutanague*, a metal well known, in some respects resembling *tin*, and which abounds in *China*; they have a white copper, resembling silver, which is very dear. The *torches* just mentioned are however of common *copper*, which is yet of a superior quality to ours. These vessels are made very thin and light, as our *dutch* tea-kettles: the *Hollanders*, of whom we learnt this manner of working copper, were taught it in *China* or *Japan*.

Some entertain a notion, that the *Chinese* use art to heighten the color of green tea; and that a degree of verdegrease is employed for this purpose. I cannot say I believe it, yet we must not be surprized if this should be ever proved, when we consider that modern *European* cookery has introduced "a *little poison*, which," we say, "does not kill;" not only in most high sauces, but even in common *pickles* which are of the finest color. I have often *thought* I tasted copper in green tea: and, I am *sure*

I have felt a diſorder in my bowels, as if I had received a noxious aliment. The former might be the effect of imagination; but wherever there is copper, we may be well aſſured there is alſo ſome degree of verdegreaſe; for we ſee it even in the alloy of gold, when it is lain-by, after being moiſt.

Whether there is more or leſs harm in theſe *torches*, than in the common copper veſſels we uſe for boiling our food, I will not undertake to determine; we hold it pernicious to *boil* water in copper not tinn'd; and, in ſpite of cuſtom, many having been alarmed with very bad effects, prefer veſſels of caſt-iron to tinn'd copper. This uſe of the *torch*, accounts for the vulgar opinion, that all tea is dried in the ſun on *copper-plates*; from whence it has been concluded, even by many conſtant tea drinkers, that it derives a *corroſive* quality.

The *Chineſe* drink very little common green tea themſelves, and may therefore take the more liberty with *Europeans*. They know that the firſt concern of the *Engliſh* is what is *faſhionable*.

Tho'

Tho' I lay no great ſtreſs on this point, with regard to my argument, I ſee no reaſon why, in a *free* country, people of *faſhion* may not deſtroy themſelves in a *ſlow* manner with *tea*, as the *common* people take a more *expeditious* way to poiſon themſelves both with *tea* and *gin*. *Adieu*. I am yours, *&c*.

P. S. The information I now give you, is from the beſt *living* witneſs, who had never read *Du Halde*'s hiſtory of *China*, more than myſelf: but ſince writing my letter, I have peruſed what this writer ſays about tea. He is conſidered by far the moſt to be depended on, and is, I apprehend, a faithful author: you will therefore the more eaſily diſcover the weight of the authority from whence I had my information, previous to my reading this account.

" Among ſhrubs," ſays he, " that of tea ought to be placed in the firſt rank: the name of tea is derived to us from the corrupt pronunciation of two cities in the province of *Fo-kien*; in the reſt of the empire it is called *tcha*.

They

They distinguish it into *four* different sorts. The *first* has the name of *Song-lo tcha*; it grows upon a mountain of *Kiang-nan*, in the lat. of 29 deg. 58. min. 30. sec. which is covered over with these shrubs. It is planted much in the same manner as vines: its growth is prevented, otherwise it would run up to seven or eight feet in height. In the space of four or five years it must be planted anew, or else the leaf will become thick, hard, and rough. The flower is white, and in the shape of a rose, composed of five leaves. In the autumn, when the flower is gone, there appears a berry in the shape of a nut, a little moist, and of no bad taste.

What I have said of the height of these shrubs, must be understood of those which grow in the aforesaid province, for in other places they suffer them to grow to their natural height, which often reaches to ten or twelve feet: for this reason, while the branches are young and tender, they cause them to bend downward, that they may gather the leaves with greater ease.

The

The *song-lo tcha*, or green tea, above-mentioned, after being preſerved ſeveral years, is an excellent remedy againſt many diſtempers.

Another kind of tea (*vou y tcha*) grows in the province of *Fo-kien*, and takes its name from a famous mountain therein. This mountain, according to an obſervation made upon the ſpot, lies in 27 deg. 47 min. 38 ſec. of north latitude. It is the moſt famous in all the province: there are in it a great number of temples, houſes, and hermitages of the *Bonzes*, which attract a great concourſe of people.

With a deſign to make this mountain paſs for the abode of ſuperior beings, they have conveyed barks, chariots, and other things, into the clefts of the ſteepeſt rocks, all along the ſide of a rivulet that divides it in two; inſomuch, that theſe fantaſtical ornaments are looked upon by the vulgar, as a real prodigy; for they ſuppoſe, that it muſt be a power more than human, that has fixed them in theſe inacceſſable places.

The ſoil of this mountain, that produces this plant, is light, whitiſh, and ſandy. The only

difference

difference between the *leaf* of *bohea tea* and *green*, is, that the latter are more long and ſharp-pointed: the decoction of the latter is green, and experience diſcovers it to be much more apt to create a cholicy diſorder *.

On the contrary, the *leaves* of the *bohea* are ſhorter, and more round, of a color a little blackiſh, and yield a yellow tincture [a]. The taſte of bohea is very ſmooth, and the decoction inoffenſive to the weakeſt ſtomach: for this reaſon, this bohea tea is the moſt ſought after, and uſed by the whole empire. However, it muſt be obſerved, that of this kind there are three ſorts.

The *firſt* is the tender leaf of the ſhrub when newly planted: this is ſeldom expoſed to ſale, but ſerves to make *preſents* of, and to ſend to the *emperor*. It is a kind of imperial tea, and is valued at about *two ſhillings* a pound (*engliſh* money).

The *ſecond* conſiſts of leaves fuller grown, and this is counted a very good ſort.

The

* The tranſlator calls it a *raking*.

[a] He ſeems here to ſpeak of the prime ſort of bohea.

The remaining leaves are ſuffered to come to their full bigneſs, which makes the *third* kind, and is exceeding cheap.

They make ſtill another ſort of the flower itſelf, but thoſe who would have it, muſt beſpeak it before hand, and purchaſe it at an exceſſive price: notwithſtanding which, it makes a very inſipid tea, and is never uſed at the *emperor*'s court.

There are ſeveral other teas, which are very little different from the *two principal kinds*, but what is owing to the nature of the ſoil in which they are planted: and there are ſeveral *plants* to which they give the *name* of tea, which are *nothing like it*.

However there is a *third* principal ſort, of which we can give but an imperfect account, becauſe ſtrangers are not permitted to enter the place where it grows. It is called *Pou eul tcha*, from the village *Pou eul* in the province of *Yun nan*. Thoſe who have been at the foot of the mountain, inform us, that this ſhrub is tall and buſhy, planted without regularity, and grows without cultivation. The leaves are more long, and

and thick, than those of the two former kinds: they roll them up into a kind of balls, and sell them at a good price. The taste is smooth, but not very agreeable; when it is made use of in the ordinary manner, it yields a reddish tincture. The *chinese* physicians account it very salutary, and a certain remedy for the cholic and fluxes, and also very good to procure an appetite."

Thus far, father *Du Halde*; upon which I must take leave to observe,

First, that *Europeans*, finding it difficult to pronounce the *t*, *c*, *h*, *a*, probably called it *tea*; tho' what the jesuit *Contancin*, who resided many years at the court of *Pekin*, and helped *Du Halde* in composing his history, says, implys its being called at that place by some name more nearly resembling *t*, *e*, *a*.

Secondly, What he says of a kind of *imperial tea* sent as presents to the *emperor*, I suppose is meant of the *souchoon*, and not the *byng*, which last *we* call *imperial*.

His account agrees with my information, that the prime sort of bohea is the most valuable,

and

and that it is difficult to obtain any quantity. Indeed the whole account has ſo great correſpondence with that which I have given you, I am ſo much the more confident in the truth of it; and if we allow it to have any merit as to the growth, we may alſo aſcribe ſome to his account of its virtues.

Thirdly, I beg however you will obſerve, that he tells you the opinion of the *Chineſe*, and does not mention a ſingle word of any experiments he, or his friends in *China*, had made on themſelves or others. He ſays the *ſonglo* is good for many diſtempers, but he does not mention *one*.

Fourthly, You may alſo take notice of his intimation, that tea ſhould be kept for ſeveral years, which is ſeldom done in *Europe*, our conſumption being ſo great, as not to allow time for it. The *Chineſe* value it for its age, as we eſteem *October* beer.

Fifthly, He makes no remarks on the effects which may be naturally expected from tea in different climates, which is a very eſſential

point to be considered: nor in speaking of this leaf, does he mention a word of the *manner* in which the *Chinese* drink it.

Sixthly, As to the *red tea*, which cures *cholics* and *fluxes*, he does not tell you that he found it so, but that the *Chinese* physicians account it salutary, &c. nor do I learn what this red tea is; if any is brought into *Europe*, it is but a small quantity; and if it is really medicinal, why do we not bring home a large supply?

Seventhly, What he says of the several plants to which the name of tea is given, "which are *nothing like it*," confirms me in the opinion, that we impose upon ourselves grossly, with regard to the different kinds and qualities of tea, as well as the manner of using it.

Thus, partly *ignorant* of the injury it does, and partly *consenting* to be injured, we become the *slaves* of custom, and rather than forbear this childish gratification, like a *baby race of men*, we play with our perdition! Pray be more careful of your own life. *Adieu.* I am very sincerely yours, *&c.*

LETTER

LETTER II.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

MAnkind have given themſelves up ſo much to their ſenſes, that *reaſon* ſeems to be conſidered rather as a *ſervant*, than a *maſter*. Even this cuſtom of ſipping warm liquors affords a gratification, which becomes ſo habitual, as hardly to be reſiſted. It has prevailed over a great part of the world; ſome of the moſt effeminate people on the face of the whole earth, whoſe example we, as a *wiſe*, *active*, and *warlike* nation, would leaſt deſire to imitate, are the greateſt *ſippers*; I mean the *Chineſe*, among whom the firſt ranks of the people, tho' they exerciſe themſelves with the bow and arrow, have adopted it as a kind of principle, that it is below their dignity to perform any labor, or uſeful office of life: and yet, with regard to this cuſtom of *ſipping tea*, we ſeem to act more *wantonly* and *abſurdly* than even the *Chineſe*.

It muſt be obſerved, that the greateſt part of the common people in *China* drink water. It is with them, as with moſt other nations, particularly in the *Eaſt*, pure water is their common beverage; but when this happens to be unwholſome, the people infuſe a coarſe kind of bohea tea. The water of the river of *Canton* is very muddy and requires filtering, and the quality of the water of the ſprings in this city are in general not eſteemed. Their method is to prepare a large veſſel of the infuſion of *bohea tea* every morning, to which they occaſionally add warm water, and without ſugar, or any other mixture, the ſervants, and the family in general, draw it off for common uſe, the water being only juſt colored with the tea. It is well known that the boiling of water will alter the qualities of it, and the infuſion of tea, in the opinion of the *Chineſe*, renders it more potable.

When the higher ranks of the people uſe tea, either as a common drink, or an entertainment, they infuſe a ſmall quantity in every

cup,

cup, contenting themſelves with the flavor and taſte of the ſubtler parts, without drawing it down with water, as we generally practiſe.

They drink very little or no *green tea*, alledging, that it rather diſturbs than promotes digeſtion, particularly *new green tea*, which, they ſay, occaſions *fevers*. It muſt be obſerved, that tea, being good of its kind, and kept from the air incloſed in lead, will keep fifteen or twenty years, or longer.

As to green tea, formerly it was for the moſt part conſumed by the *Tartars* in and about *China*, alſo in ſeveral parts of *India*: till within theſe thirty or forty years, a much leſs quantity of this kind was cultivated in *China*; but ſince there has been ſo *prodigious* a demand for *Europe*, hardly any quantity of tea, in general, which the *Chineſe* can ſupply, is ſufficient. It is true ſome of the *European* markets have been occaſionally glutted for a ſhort time; but notwithſtanding *China* exceeds us ſo greatly in number of inhabitants, it is queſtioned if the *Chineſe* conſume ſo much *tea* as we and the *Hollanders*.

The *Chinese* alſo differ from us in this, that they frequently uſe *acids* with their tea inſtead of *ſweets*. Indeed I wonder ſo few of the female world deviate from the path which their mothers have trod before them, eſpecially when their health is in a declining condition. I know a lady or two, who make uſe of their own underſtandings, without regard to faſhion or cuſtom, and find themſelves much the better for uſing acids.

The *Chineſe* I am told never drink their tea ſweet; but they ſometimes hold a bit of ſugar-candy in their mouth whilſt they are drinking it; but this is a cuſtom I can by no means recommend, as it hurts the teeth. *Farewell.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER III.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

BEFORE we proceed to enquire into the pernicious effects of tea in this iſland, as I have given you ſome lights into its growth, and the manner of uſing it in *China*, in oppoſition

ſition to our abſurd cuſtom, perhaps you will be glad to know when this *intoxicating* liquor firſt came in faſhion in this country. I do not mean, that it makes people *drunk*, but it certainly has *turned our brains*, and ſo far it is intoxicating.

Lord *Arlington* and lord *Oſſory*, were the perſons who brought it from *Holland* in 1666; their *ladies* then became paſſionately enamored with it as a *new* thing: *their* example recommended it to the fine women of thoſe days, and *yours* muſt put it out of countenance. The price it then ſold for, was no leſs than ſixty ſhillings the pound. It is eaſy to believe, that a pound of fine bohea tea, which coſt the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, four or five ſhillings, would ſoon find its way into *Europe* by other channels, if it could be ſold for three pounds; this was the price ſo late as about the year 1707, tho' we were not then ſo univerſally *luxurious*, nor ſo vigilant in purſuit of ſilly gratifications as we are now. Tea drinking was not in *general* vogue at that time; and if this

pleasure had always remained sacred to *ladies* of quality, it had been *happier* for us.

The use of tea descended to the *Plebæan* order, among us, about the beginning of this century; but it was not before the year 1715, that we began to buy large quantities of *green tea* of the *Chinese*, having been till then contented with *bohea*.

In 1720, the consumption was so much augmented, that the *French*, who had hitherto brought home only raw-silk, porcelain, and silken manufactures from *China*, began to import considerable quantities of tea into *France*; and by establishing the trade of running it into this island, have found their *profit* in *our folly* ever since.

From 1717 to 1726, we imported annually about 700,000 pounds. The quantities run in upon us, however, must have been prodigious, for it was calculated in 1728, that 5,000,000 pounds were imported into *Europe*,

of

of which we were much the greateſt conſumers.

Our own importation increaſed, inſomuch that from 1732 to 1742, I find 1,200,000 pounds annually imported into *London*; for ſome time paſt the quantity has been 3,000,000: this year (1755) I hear near *four* millions of pounds have paid duties, and if a war takes place, it may amount to *five* millions. *Where will this evil ſtop?*

As the demand for tea in *China* increaſed, ſo was this faſhionable drug *adulterated*, and continues to be mixed with leaves of other ſhrubs. I have often obſerved, that what has paſſed with the *vulgar*, even the *modiſh vulgar*, under the *name* of tea, neither in taſte, ſmell, nor ſize of leaf, ſeemed to have any tea in it. And as to *fine* teas, ſince there has been ſo vaſt a demand for *Europe*, the *Chineſe* hardly ever pick the leaves with any delicacy, except for the conſumption of their own ſovereign and his grandees, and conſequently it is extremely difficult to meet with very choice tea. I am told,

that even to this day there is tea in *Holland* ſold for three pounds the pound weight, and ſome ſtill higher. *Farewell.* I am yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

IF it had been my fortune to enjoy a greater ſhare of *wit*, and a leſs portion of *courage*, I ſhould hardly have encountered ſo formidable an enemy, with ſuch great alliances, being ſo little ſupported as I am. To ſay the ſtrength of my antagoniſt is founded in *fancy* and *opinion*, is acknowledging it is very ſtrong: and if I were really inſpired with the ſpirit of a *Curtius*, would my leaping into the gulph *ſave* my country?

Among the few plauſible reaſons I have heard in defence of tea, it is maintained with a ſerious air, by ſome perſons who have made *China* voyages, that *tea* cures and prevents the *ſcurvy*; and I have alſo heard this obſervation ridiculed by others of at leaſt as much experience.

Here

Here it must be observed, that provisions are *good* and *cheap* in *China*, and the seamen generally leave *Canton* in vigorous health. I will not dispute however that sipping a warm liquid, may some times be of service to seamen whilst they eat salt provisions; but I rather apprehend these owe their health to *rest*, to sailing with a trade-wind; to *rice* and other kinds of farenaceous foods, and not to *tea*.

If tea would really prevent the scurvy in preference to all *herbs* of our own *growth*, it might be a very wise measure to send a quantity of it on board all his *majesty*'s ships, especially in time of war. We have *thousands*, I might say *millions*, of tea-drinkers, who are of less consequence to the state, and less exposed to this complaint than our seamen: but who ever *thought* of this expedient for the service of the navy? On the contrary, *vinegar* is best calculated to temper the quality of salt beef, and to prevent the ordinary effects of the salt-water air. If to this we add soops, *dried fish*, *vegetables*, and more *farenaceous* aliments than

are

are in use, would they not answer better than *tea?*

The nations which never *tasted* the infusion of tea, are they more troubled with this malady, either by land or sea, than we are? If we, being islanders, are in general subject to this distemper, let us eat less *animal food*; we shall surely find better effects from vegetables, bread, milk, and cold water, these being good of their kind, than from *tea*. Besides, we often find that *acids* will prevent the scurvy; and sugar, which is the concomitant of tea, is apt to produce it: this distemper is frequent among *West Indians*, who are fond of sweetmeats; boys in grocers shops; and what is more remarkable, men who break sugar for the grocers, are observed to be more than commonly afflicted with the *scurvy*.

It is alledged by some ingenious gentlemen, that as warm liquids promote perspiration, which is more particularly necessary in bodies subject to the scurvy, the infusion of *tea* ought therefore to be recommended. This is

as

as if a proper degree of perspiration could not be excited by warm *clothing*, *exercise*, *wholesome meats*, and *drinks*. Or if it must be done by warm liquids, why not by the infusion of some of our own herbs which are really anti-scorbutic. The relaxed habit which is brought on by drinking tea, enervating the powers of nature, and disabling her to throw off what is pernicious, does really *cherish* this distemper, instead of *destroying* it. The being much exposed to moist air, without proper exercise, as it obstructs the natural secretions, it will bring on the scurvy; and in most seasons of the year, our atmosphere is chiefly composed of watery particles.

You have seen how the hands of your women-washers are shriveled by *hot water*; you feel how *hot liquids* give *pain* externally and internally, even when they do not *scald*: you are also sensible, when you go to *routs*, or to *theatres*, of the pernicious effects of *hot air* to the lungs. And after all do you really imagine, that *nature* requires our drinking liquids

even

even so warm as our *blood?* The *Chinese*, who live in a very hot climate, drink no liquor cold nor *hot*, it is only warm; but I suppose they would live longer if it was left in the state which nature provides it for them. Very hot, or very cold liquors, taken as *medicines*, may produce effects, which, in the ordinary course of the animal operations, are not necessary: the same as things very *hot*, or very *cold*, in *quality*, are not therefore proper for *common food*. In *Italy* they often cure *fevers* with *ice*; and you may have heard some doctors say, that *mustard* is good in their hands, but not in common use: nay, I believe that *tea*, in the doctors hands, may be *sometimes* used to more advantage than many drugs which load the shelves of apothecaries.

I suppose that more than three quarters of mankind drink no other liquor than *water* in its natural state. In very cold countries, in the height of winter, warm liquors may be sometimes necessary to relax: but even in such circumstances, in general I know that *cold water* is drank in

small

small quantities, not only with *safety*, but it really *invigorates* much more than *hot*. Nature seems to point out to us, that liquors moderately cold are best; tho' the degree of cold which may be safe to use in a *cold* climate may be dangerous in a *hot* one; and so far we may account for the *Chinese* custom differing with the common practice in *Europe*. The peasant, whose life, in spite of the evils inseparable from *poverty*, is generally the longest, finds that cold water is the best remedy for fevers, agues, and many other disorders. Nature, indulgent to all created beings, seems to have provided this as a *medicine*, as well as a *nutriment*, for *all* mankind, tho' some experience is necessary as to the manner of using it.

But if we *mean* what we *say*, whilst we fondly attempt to cure the *scurvy* by *hot* liquors, may we not die of *weak nerves?* I appeal to the memory and experience of every thinking person in this island, if they ever heard of any period, in which *paralitic disorders*, and those called *nervous*, prevailed so much as at this

time.

time. If ſuch were not ſo prevalent when tea was not in uſe; and if theſe prevail moſt among people who conſtantly drink tea, may we not reaſonably impute the misfortune, in a great meaſure to this *drug*? We ſee, very clearly that many conſtitutions are ſo affected by *tea*, that it occaſions inſtantaneous tremblings of the hands, as well as cholics and low ſpirits; and how muſt it diſorder the *finer* parts of the frame, when there is ſuch a *viſible effect*?

I believe no body diſputes that hot water relaxes, but every one is not aware that ſuch relaxation rather *confirms* a ſcorbutic habit than cures it. If the powers of nature, by which our food is digeſted, are weakened, will it not occaſion an obſtruction of the main ſprings on which the regular motion of the whole machine depends?

To what can we aſcribe the numerous complaints which prevail? How many *ſweet creatures* of your ſex, languiſh with a *weak digeſtion*, *low ſpirits*, *laſſitudes*, *melancholy*, and twenty diſorders, which in ſpite of the *faculty* have yet

no

no names, except the general one of *nervous complaints?* Let them change their diet, and among other articles leave off drinking tea, it is more than probable the greateſt part of them will be reſtored to health.

Liquids drank *hot*, or even *warm*, eſpecially in the evening, or near the time of reſt, will in ſome conſtitutions, put the animal ſpirits into ſuch an agitation as to prevent *ſleep*. There is likewiſe a quality in the tea which prevents reſt, at leaſt to ſuch as are not habituated to it, and ſome never can accommodate their conſtitutions to ſuch uſage. Agreeable to this *experience*, it is recommended to perſons who are under a neceſſity of *watching*.

The reverend doctor *Hales*, who is well known in the learned world, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his great humanity and concern for the welfare of mankind, has given me the account of an experiment which he tried with regard to the ſubject in queſtion, as follows. "I "put the thickeſt end of a ſmall ſucking pig's "tail into a cup of green tea, when the heat of

"it

" it, by *Farenheit's* mercurial *Thermometer* was " 114 degrees above the freezing point, that is, " 50 degrees hotter than the human blood, " which is 64 degrees. At this degree of heat " the warmest tea is often drank, and yet it " scalded the skin so much, that in less than a " minute the hair slipt off easily."

" Then cutting off the scalded part of the " tail, which was about an inch long, I put " the same unscalded end of the tail into the " same tea when its heat was 94 degrees, or 30 " degrees hotter than our blood, *viz.* about half " the heat of *boiling* water, which is 180 de- " grees. Few people drink their tea cooler " than the degree of heat just mentioned, *viz.* " 30 degrees hotter than our blood, and yet this " also scalded the skin in a minute, insomuch " that the hair came off easily. From such " experiments there is the utmost reason to sus- " pect that the frequent daily drinking of such " hot liquor is hurtful, in which physicians ge- " nerally agree in opinion."

I am not sure that this experiment of the pig's tail had any allusion to *human flesh*, or the hair of it to the coats of the stomach; but it seems to teach us that we depart from nature when we use *hot liquors*. Hot water gives a much quicker sensation than when it is only *warm*, and many are not contented unless the *tea* be as hot as they can well bear it.

Hot water is also very hurtful to the *teeth*. The *Chinese* do not drink their tea so hot as we do, and yet they have bad teeth. This cannot be ascribed entirely to *sugar*, for they use very little, as already observed: but we all know that *hot* or *cold* things which *pain* the teeth, destroy them also. If we drank less tea, and used gentle *acids* for the gums and teeth, particularly *sour oranges*, though we had a less number of *French dentists*, I fancy this *essential* part of beauty would be much *better* preserved.

The women in the united provinces who *sip tea* from morning till night, are also as remarkable for *bad teeth*. They also look pallid, and many are troubled with certain feminine disorders arising from a relaxed habit. The *Portu-*

guese ladies, on the other hand, entertain with *sweet-meats*, and yet they have very *good teeth*: but their food in general is more of the farinaceous and vegetable kind than ours. They also *drink cold water* instead of *sipping hot*, and never taste any fermented liquors; for these reasons the use of *sugar*, does not seem to be at all pernicious to them.

Much sugar taken in any shape is hurtful to young persons, particularly such as drink *wine* and *malt liquors*. After a plentiful meal of various foods, the use of it in *tea*, is apt to create unnatural fermentations; and its salts I believe often produce the scurvy as well as inflammatory disorders; yet *adults*, or those who chiefly drink cold water, may venture on it freely. If *properly* used I take it to be an excellent pectoral, and with regard to its effects on the constitution, will answer all the purposes of *wine*, *spices*, and *rich fruits*, whilst by means of its spirit a less quantity of animal food is necessary: thus it becomes productive of good or evil, as it is used with or without judgment and experience, but I shall say more of sugar hereafter. *Farewel.*

LET-

LETTER V.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

THOUGH habit reconciles *us* to the uſe of *tea*, as it does the *Turks* to *opium*, may we not with great propriety aſk the following queſtions?

Is it not diſturbing the operations of nature, to *drink* when neither thirſt nor heat provokes?

Do we not often *ſip tea* when we have already drank too great a quantity of water, or other diluting liquors?

Would not *cold* liquids ſometimes relieve nature better than *hot*?

Is it not the polite queſtion, "have you "drank your tea," and ſuppoſed that *every body* drinks tea *every* evening, and *every* morning?

Are not phyſicians generally agreed, that we have many choice and medicinal herbs of our own growth, better than tea?

Are they not alſo agreed, that tho' tea is proper for ſome perſons, under particular circumſtances, that it is in general hurtful to the conſtitution in the manner we uſe it?

Is not *food* and regimen the moſt ſafe and proper phyſic of mankind, to prevent ſickneſs or alter a bad habit?

Can tea promote this end, except to very few conſtitutions?

Might not the *ſimple infuſions* of our own herbs drank under proper circumſtances, with regard to different conſtitutions, and ſometimes varied, be of much greater benefit than tea, even ſuppoſing it injurious only to a few?

Will the *ſons* and *daughters* of this happy iſle, this reputed abode of *ſenſe* and *liberty*, for *ever* ſubmit to the bondage of ſo *tyrannical* a cuſtom as drinking tea?

Muſt the *young* and *old*, and *middle aged*, the *ſickly* and the *ſtrong*, the *poor* and *rich*, in *warm* weather and *cold*, in *moiſt* and *dry*, with one common conſent, employ ſo many precious hours, in ſo *low* a gratification as *drinking tea?*

Are we to be be bred up from *generation* to *generation* to this vaſt expence?

Is not this a *want* which nature does not make, and are not many *unhappy*, if it is not *regularly* ſupplied? *&c. &c.*

One

One might multiply these questions, and their answers might at one view set the matter in its true light, if we had wit and honesty enough to consult proper counsellors, and to follow their advice. Men seem to have lost their stature, and comliness; and women their beauty. I am not *young*, but methinks there is not quite so much *beauty* in this land as there was. Your very *chambermaids* have lost their bloom, I suppose by *sipping tea*. Even the agitations of the passions at *cards* are not so great enemies to female charms. What *Shakespear* ascribes to the concealment of love, is *in this age* more frequently occasioned by the use of *tea*.

" *Like a worm i' the bud,*
" *It feeds on the damask cheek.*"

How can this effect be avoided, whilst we continue to commit such an *offence* against *nature*? *Custom* is said to be a *second nature*; in many instances it is a *first*; but as we shall never walk on our *hands* so conveniently as upon our *feet*: I am persuaded the inhabitants of this island will never increase in number nor

enjoy a blooming health whilſt they continue ſuch an extravagant uſe of *tea*.

Mankind are ſo much governed by their *prejudices*, that the greateſt abſurdities often paſs for marks of *prudence*; and the moſt injurious cuſtoms, as *ſalutary* means of health. Among other ſuch notions I dare ſay you have imbibed this from the very earlieſt part of your life; that you ſhall certainly be a *dead woman* if you venture at any time on cold liquids in a *morning*! and yet, ſtrange it is to tell, you fly to *wells* of *cold mineral waters* to remove diſorders, which are the pernicious effects of *ſipping hot tea?* And what is to be done when you return home? Why as ſoon as you recover your health, you return to *ſipping*. Thus it is you *ſhorten your days:* you give up your health a *prey*, and with it all the *heart-felt joys* which attend it. Be aſſured, *madam*, that tea *hurts* many who do not believe the evils they ſuffer ariſe from this cauſe; and I am ſure you muſt ſee every day, that many perſiſt in the uſe of it, in ſpite of the *cleareſt conviction*, that it is hurtful.

Beſides

Besides its bad effects to those who are advanced in years, who can behold without indignation, young persons sipping tea and sugar, late in the evening, perhaps a short hour before their *supper?* What purpose is this tea to answer? As a *nutriment?* It is not a *solid* to *nourish*; it is not a *liquid* to quench thirst, for the sugar makes them thirsty, and weakens their digestion. What is it? An *idle custom*; an *absurd expence*; tending to create fantastic desires, and bad habits, in which nature has no part, and which render us less happy, or more miserable than we should otherwise be.

Let me repeat, tho' *custom* prevails over *nature* in many instances, yet you may be assured, there will be a *contest* between them, and in the issue you will become the *victim*. Green tea, when made strong, even by infusion, is an *emetic*, nay, I am told it is used as such in *China*, a decoction of it certainly performs this operation; yet by long use it is drank by many without such an effect. The infusion also, when it is made strong, and stands long to draw the grosser particles, will *convulse* the bowels: even in

the manner *commonly* used it has this effect on some constitutions, as I have already remarked to you, from my *own experience*.

You see I confess my *weakness* without reserve, but those who are very fond of tea, if their digestion is weak, and they find themselves disordered, they generally ascribe it to any *cause* except the *true* one. I am aware that the effect just mentioned is imputed to the *hot* water; let it be so, and my argument is still good: but who pretends to say it is not *partly* owing to particular kinds of tea; perhaps such as partake of *copperas*, which there is cause to apprehend, is sometimes the case: if we judge from the manner in which it is said to be cured, together with its ordinary effects, there is some foundation for this opinion. Put a drop of strong tea, either *green* or *bohea*, but chiefly the former, on the blade of a knife, tho' it is not corrosive in the same manner as vitriol, yet there appears to me a corrosive quality in it, very different from that of fruit which stain the knife. Be pleased however to observe, that I mention these *two effects* as *heads* of *enquiry*, and do not by any

means

means rest the *merits* of my *cause* upon them.

What foundation there is for a vulgar opinion that the *Chinese* give us tea already used, I cannot say, I believe it is a mistake, but this we know of a certainty, they are no *honester* than other nations; and it seems to be a *less abuse* to give us a good leaf at *second hand*, than to impose upon us a leaf of a *different shrub*, or a bad kind of tea which may have a quite different effect on the human body. Indeed, as we are for *present gratifications*, no matter whether we are poisoned or not, it would be a wonder if *they* should give themselves any trouble on this head.

Whether it arise from the *effluvia* of tea after it has been long confined on board ship, or from any particular properties in it, I cannot tell; but I have heard it said, that those who examine great quantities of tea, with a view to buy at the public sales of this commodity, are often afflicted with a fit of illness immediately after it. This also among others is a circumstance *worth enquiry*, and if it is true, makes *against* tea; and if it is not true, makes nothing *for* it.

I remem-

I remember that it was the great ſubject of polite converſation ſome years ago, which was the *beſt*, *green* tea, or *bohea*. Each had a very powerful party, and *victory* ſeemed to declare on neither ſide. The truth is, the *Chineſe* could not ſupply us with a ſufficient quantity of tolerable *bohea tea*; or, with as little reaſon as other faſhions are taken up, it became *faſhionable* to drink *green*.

If we follow the *example* of the *Chineſe*, we ſhall certainly prefer bohea tea, which ſeems to be the leaſt pernicious. *Farewell*. I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER VI.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

I AM not inſenſible it may be urged, that many of the common people in *China* drink tea, and yet are robuſt. I think it is very eaſy to comprehend the great difference there is between one climate and another; and the different effects of the temperament of the air on human bodies: what may conduce to health in one region may deſtroy it in another. But we muſt

remem-

remember, that the *Chinese* drink tea in a very different manner from us; their common people only drink it to correct *bad water* as already explained; probably not such *bad* tea as our common people drink; certainly not *strong*, nor *hot*, nor loaded with *sugar*, neither do they swallow it out of season in meer wantonness; they drink it only when thirst provokes.

As to the virtues which are ascribed to tea, when it is urged that neither the *gout* or *stone* are known in *China*; I believe it will be found equally certain, that in other parts of *Asia*, where tea is not known, the people are hardly ever afflicted with such distempers, which may be owing in a great measure to the simplicity of their diet, and the nature of their climate. In the mean while I am afraid that if we trace these distempers amongst us, as near as possible to their origin, we shall find that the relaxation created by the perpetual sipping of a hot liquid without exercise, is frequently the occasion of the *stone*, if it has no hand in breeding the *gout*.

With

With regard to the opinion of the learned Dr. *Cheyne*, he treats the ſubject in a ſuperficial manner. He ſays, the uſe of tea is indifferent unleſs taken in exceſs, yet he adds, "that ſome "perſons of *weak tender nerves* fall into *lowneſs* "and *trembling* upon uſing this liquor with any "freedom, from the too great quantity, or the "irritation on the tender and delicate fibres of the "ſtomach," adding that "ſuch ought as care-"fully to avoid and abſtain from it as from "*drams* and *drops*." Thus far an author, who is an *advocate* for *tea*: but with all due reſpect to his *fame*, it appears to me a kind of contradiction, to impute *lowneſs* and *trembling* to this liquor; and yet in another place he will not allow that *vapours*, *low-ſpiritedneſs*, and *nervous diſorders*, ought to be in any degree imputed to it.

After the ſame manner, as to the effects of *hot water* uſed externally, this doctor ſays, "the *Bath guides*, who dabble in water al-"moſt as hot as *tea* is ever drank, a great part "of the day, and for one half of the year at "leaſt, are no ways injured by it," and yet he allows that it *raiſes thirſt*. Still we muſt appeal

to

to the *common ſenſe* and *experience* of mankind, for this is of much greater conſequence to their preſervation, than any particular crude notion, or fond *ſyſtem*, which is adopted by a ſingle man, however diſtinguiſhed for his learning; and to that *common ſenſe* and *experience* I appeal.

I am told, that a phyſician not many years ſince wrote a treatiſe in favor of *bohea tea*, and recommended the uſe of its infuſion, mixed with milk and ſugar, as a cure, not of the *ſcurvy* only, but alſo of *conſumptions*. This *notion* is no longer adopted by us: I never ſaw the book, but granting that *he* thought what he wrote at that time; and that his book was not calculated for any *pecuniary ends*, as books often are, we muſt not regard *opinions*, but argue from *facts* and *experience*. And with regard to the preſent argument, we are to conſider the pernicious effects of *tea* in general; and of ſuch *tea* in *particular* as is drank by the bulk of *tea-drinkers*, as well by thoſe who it is preſumed are injured by the too *conſtant* uſe of the *beſt* tea.

We are alſo to examine if this advocate for tea, informed the world of the difference be-

tween

tween a pound of bohea tea bought at *Amſterdam*, or, as it has lately been purchaſed at *Embden* for fifteen-pence, and another ſold in *London* for upwards of twenty ſhillings! Between ſuch *prime* ſorts and *inferior teas*, there is as great difference, as between *raw cabbage*, and a *pine-apple*; or the *beſt meat* the butchers ſhop affords, and *carrion*.

Thoſe doctors, who when the effects of tea were leſs known, turn'd advocates for it, maintained, that it is a gentle reſtringent, and ſtrengthens the tone of the inteſtines, but they recommend neither milk nor ſugar, nor yet to drink it after a full meal, ſo that in reality this is to conſider it only *medicinally*. Dr. *Pauli*, one of the phyſicians of the king of *Denmark*, wrote a treatiſe on this ſubject. He condemns it entirely as *pernicious* in theſe northern *climes*, and particularly in the manner *Europeans* uſe it. Amongſt other objections he ſays, that tea is *deſiccative*, or in plain *engliſh*, that it is of a very drying quality, and therefore ought by no means to be uſed after the fortieth year of life.

This phyſician alſo thinks, that as every coun-

try

try has its peculiar product, tea may do no harm to a *Chinese*, and yet be very hurtful to an *European*. But let us compare the moſt apparent diſintereſted voice of our own phyſicians, who I believe are in general ſuperior to any in the world, with experience, and we ſhall be inclined to ſide with thoſe who *declare*, that in the *manner* we uſe this drug, it is indubitably *pernicious:* not a few of them very ſeriouſly confeſs, that they are more obliged to *tea* for the *gains* ariſing from their practice, than to all *other debaucheries:* indeed, if we exclude the very vicious part of mankind, I apprehend this is literally true.

Phyſicians, like other people, generally ſpeak in favour of things they are fond of; *ſome* of them are *fond* of *tea*, and therefore hold their tongues, or in a ludicrous ſtrain commend it: but even thoſe I ſay who expreſs themſelves with the moſt indifference, ingenuouſly confeſs, that *tea*, as we take it, is really injurious to health. If they were to ſay otherwiſe, I am afraid I ſhould not believe them, nor need you unleſs you pleaſe: I have no notion of be-

lieving

believing any thing in *contradiction* to the testimony of my senses: nor do I know of any *religion*, but that of *Rome*, which requires such belief.

Were the college of physicians to *set* on tea, I apprehend they would do more real benefit to this country, than the *Conclave* ever did to the cause of true religion at *Rome*. To be serious, I think tea is become an object of *legislative* enquiry, whenever the nation shall be free from the alarms of war, if not during actual war. Few are qualified to judge for themselves in opposition to a rooted prejudice: but those who can judge *candidly*, let them consult *their own feeling*; let them mark their own *experience*, and if this will support the opinion I now advance, they may as well take *my word* as the *doctor's*. It is enough if upon the whole you find it hurtful to your health: and if my opinion stands good till physicians are entirely agreed about the *good* or *bad* qualities of *tea*; and also concerning the distinction of *true* or *false*, *choice* and *common tea*; and the nature of such constitutions as may use it without *much* danger,

and

and ſuch to whom it is abſolutely poiſonous, you may depend the patient will be *dead* before the *conſultation* breaks up, and I ſhall be entitled to a *diploma*.

If theſe ſons of *Eſculapius*, whom *luxury* has rendered in ſome meaſure uſeful, if not abſolutely neceſſary to us, were leſs *methodical*, more *rational*, and more *attentive* in their practice, they would teach us how to preſerve our lives; or if we ſhould ever be ſo virtuous, as to engage the particular *favor* of heaven, and theſe learned gentlemen become *better* than the reſt of mankind, and think more of the advantage of *others*, than of *their own*: if this, I ſay, ſhould ever happen, I am convinced that we ſhould immediately hear of the baniſhment of tea; it would inſtantly be excluded the *parlor*, as many diſhes which *modern cookery* has introduced, would be the *ball*. Plain diet, *moderate* meals, *gentle* exerciſe, *regular* reſt, *regular* paſſions, and *cold water*, all which are now but little regarded in common practice, would then moſt engage their care for the *eaſe*, the *happineſs*, the *preſervation* of mankind. *Adieu*. I am yours, *&c.*

PART II.

Lives shortened by various Causes, with Reflections on a MILITIA. *Calculation of* MORTALITY. TEA *and* GIN *the bane of the common People of* ENGLAND. *The Misconduct of* NURSES. *The Importance of the* FOUNDLING-HOSPITAL. *The Prevalency of* EXAMPLE. *The Force of* FASHION. FASHION *changeable.*

LETTER VII.

To Mrs. D•••.

MADAM,

YOU must not entertain a single thought that I mean to amuse my readers with romantic speculations, and to jest merely to support paper-mills and printing-houses. On the contrary, I beg you will lend a patient ear, and carefully examine whether my doctrine be true or false.

It is granted, that the working poor are the great source of the riches of all nations; but we are not universally agreed in opinion as to

to all the various causes of the diminution of their number, nor what the decrease really amounts to. Every one of the least discernment thinks it a matter of the utmost moment; and I fear there is too great reason to be alarmed. We have had no bloody wars during this reign, tho' some blood has been spilt; no *plagues* or *famines* have raged amongst us: as yet we have suffered no irreparable violence on liberty, nor do we invade the prerogative of the crown; we live under a sovereign who loves his people, and is beloved by them.

But if we go so far back as the queen's war, we may reckon it cost this nation eighty or a hundred thousand men: the last war, sixty or seventy thousand, for the most part in the prime of life. Such losses are not to be recruited in so short time as is generally imagined.

No body can doubt that within these thirty years past our manufactures have been greatly increased; waste lands have been cultivated; and a number of good houses have been built

in almoſt every part of the kingdom: and tho' we have lived a great deal too faſt, in proportion to our increaſe in wealth, yet in general, commerce has been improved. Theſe are undeniable indications of the flouriſhing ſtate of *ſkill* and *induſtry*; but the *intemperance* and *debaucheries* which have attended our improvements during this century, have made great havock amongſt us, and *counteracted* the advantages juſt mentioned.

The augmentation of the *poors-rate* ſo high as a million and a half, at which it is computed, at the very time that agriculture and manufactures are improving, leads ſome to imagine that our numbers are increaſing; but I apprehend the *reverſe* is ſo true, I am almoſt brought over to the opinion that a *general naturalization* of foreign proteſtants is proper for us; at leaſt that there are many ſuch proteſtants who ought to be kindly received, and even invited by ſome peculiar motives; for if we take ſo little care of our own lives, we muſt be

assisted by other nations, or we shall bring ourselves to a very speedy end.

But whilst we wish for more inhabitants, it is a clear point that our people in some parts of these kingdoms can with difficulty find a comfortable support. Besides the *laziness* or *viciousness* of the *poor*, there is a secret cause for this, which few of the *rich* ever think of: it is their *extravagance:* they consume more than their *share* considered as *rich:* they live too much on the *stretch*, and consequently are not able to do a thousand *good offices*, which *humanity* and good *policy*, as well as their rank in life, demand at their hands. By this means the poor are many times left in want, and often times reduced to the abject state of being burdensome to the public, which ought by all means to be avoided. To illustrate this opinion, if not to prove it, look into the state of the poor in *arbitrary* countries, where in proportion as great lords figure as *petty sovereigns*, their vassals ever appear as *miserable slaves*. Whether this will become the case of our coun-

try, either through want of inhabitants to defend it, or by the *corruption* and *extravagance* which prevail amongſt us, is a ſubject which ought, in our preſent circumſtances, to call forth our utmoſt attention.

The greater our *numbers* are, 'tis probable the greater our *riches* will be; and if we are not blind to our own intereſt, the more ſecure will be our liberty alſo. If there are no more than *ſeven and a half* millions of people in *England*, *one and a half* in *Scotland*, and *two* in *Ireland*; we may then calculate near *ſix* millions of *males*. The call for war will take at leaſt *one hundred and twenty thouſand* of them in a year or two, which is the fiftieth man; agriculture and manufactory muſt conſequently be obſtructed, unleſs we employ foreigners to fight our battles. But here we ought to conſider very ſeriouſly, that when *battles* muſt be *fought*, or *liberty* or *property guarded*, at *home*, in our mother country, *all* will be at ſtake: the temporary gain of the huſbandman or manufacturer can, in ſuch caſe, be no equivalent for

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the loſs we may ſuffer by their inability to bear arms. I believe there never was yet a country under the cope of heaven, which long preſerved its riches and liberty, when another great neighboring ſtate was ready to ſeize on both, unleſs the *plowman* and the *weaver* were ſometimes obliged to convert their *plow-ſhares* and *ſhuttles* into *ſwords* and *muſkets*. I wiſh it were not ſo: but if it is, the leſs we put to the iſſue of chance or even of the *bravery* and *fidelity* of ſtrangers, the more ſecure we ſhall be. Nor is it difficult to foreſee the conſequences were we to truſt ourſelves in the hands of a foreign army, the beſt which might be expected is, that we ſhould forget the uſe of arms, and conſequently how to defend our freedom.

If we mean to be a *free* people, we muſt be in a capacity to defend ourſelves: we muſt have *arms*, and know how to uſe them too; is it not a vain thing to think of long enjoying *liberty* on other terms? If we try the experiment too far, we may be irrecoverably loſt.

As to the difficulties of forming a militia,

let them be ever ſo great we are ſure of one thing, that if a man is taught how to uſe a muſket, and knows when and in what manner he will be called upon in time of danger, 20,000 men under ſuch circumſtances, are better than 60,000 meer rabble.

All partiality and party prejudice aſide, as this nation is circumſtanced, can we ſuppoſe ſo numerous a regular army as is neceſſary to our ſecurity in time of war, and at all times to prevent a ſurprize, can be ſupported by us? And if we could ſupport it, will it *not be attended with great inconvenience?* Will there not be diſtreſs, if not *danger* from this quarter alſo?

I have long thought that the ſtate of this nation will not admit of ſuch *refinements*, as modern politicians ſeem to adopt. Of all abſurd precautions, that of ſo ſpeedy a reduction of our naval ſtrength, at the cloſe of the laſt war, was the greateſt. Prudence in the management of finances, is an important object, but if only the abolition of corruption can *ſave* us, ſuch *ſavings* were in the wrong place.

Our

Such conduct with regard to the *means* of ſupporting war may prove our ruin. It ſeems to me that we have been long in danger of being *undone*, for *fear* of being *undone:* and that a militia, under ſome kind of eſtabliſhment, muſt be our laſt reſort in the utmoſt extremity. Men muſt be taught *how* to act the part of ſoldiers, or they will make a bad figure, when there ſhall be no choice in what other character to appear. The time may be near, when we can be only *victors* or conquered ſlaves.

Whilſt I am upon this ſubject I cannot help obſerving, it would be a melancholy conſideration if a *free* and *opulent* people, whoſe *freedom*, and whoſe *commerce* have been obtained, and long ſupported by a *martial temper*, as well as by the *ſpirit of induſtry*, ſhould become careleſs, and averſe to arms; as if by the mere *reputation* of riches, we could guard theſe valuable objects from danger: and yet this ſeems to be the caſe of the city of *London*, in being negligent with regard to their *ſtanding militia*, at the approach

of

of danger, and during actual war. If ſuch a war requires great ſkill and circumſpection to keep it at a *diſtance*, ſhall we not prepare for it as if it would reach our doors? In ſuch a city as this, men in the prime of life, whether *magiſtrates* or *private citizens*, *merchants* or *tradeſmen*, ſhould pride themſelves in the knowledge and ability of defending their own *wives* and *children*; and whatever they undertake, to do it as if they were in *earneſt*. Were the *officers* of this militia to ſhew a proper ſpirit, we ſhould find the *men* more ready for ſervice, and leſs exorbitant in their demands for their daily labor in the mock field of battle. If a proper choice of men was made; if the numbers were kept complete; if they were exerciſed every fourteen or twenty days in time of war; they would be truly uſeful. It ſhews a lazy luxurious ſpirit for men of ſentiment, to permit that a man who was a *porter yeſterday* ſhould be a *captain to-day*; will he truſt ſuch a captain in a day of danger?

It has been the curſe of this nation for ſome time paſt, to be in *earneſt* about nothing but the

increaſe

increase of wealth; and what may seem a *paradox*, in order to its increase we have squandered it away; that is, at the very time we paid so great an attention to pecuniary affairs, the gratification of ourselves in *luxury*, and the regular study of the arts of corruption, for the support of that luxury, have quite absorbed every generous and exalted thought. Thus it happens, that many fear there will be more danger in trusting ourselves with arms, least our vices should induce us to make a bad use of them, than from any foreign enemy: tho' we might, by this means, learn discipline in *morals*, as well as in *arms*. God grant that we may take proper measures for the defence of virtue and of liberty! *Farewel.*

LETTER VIII.

To the same.

MADAM,

UNLESS the most judicious and most politic steps are taken, to cherish and support the poor in a virtuous independance, it will be in vain for this nation to pretend to *liberty*,

berty, or to promiſe ourſelves that we ſhall, for any length of time, make a great figure in commerce. But this is not all, the poor muſt be *inſtructed* in the duties of *religion*, and ſo well *trained* to the *practice* of *ſocial* virtues, as not only to help ſupport each other, but not to deſtroy themſelves. In arbitrary countries the people are often reſtrained by compulſive means, from the uſe of ſuch things as are deem'd pernicious, and tranſgreſſors of laws are ſure to be puniſhed. Where there is great extent of dominion, different climates, and different cuſtoms, theſe alſo may be a greater means of preſerving the inhabitants in *one part*, tho' mortality ſhould rage amongſt them in *another*. But we do not ſeem to keep pace in the country, with the extraordinary mortality in *London*.

Many ingenious men have lately employed their pens, to try if they could diſcover what is the true meaſure of mortality in this nation, and particularly in this great city. As yet none

of

of them have ſucceeded to that degree of exactneſs which they ſeem to aim at, partly occaſioned by the fluctuating ſtate of the inhabitants; the numbers of young and old who are ſent into the country; and the number of young and middle aged who come from every part of the three kingdoms, to fill up thoſe offices which trade and luxury render neceſſary.

It ſeems to be generally agreed, that *London* loſes, by a greater number of deaths than burials, *four* or *five thouſand* people every year. If ſome of our buildings and ſtreets were leſs confined, and a *police* were eſtabliſhed by which greater cleanlineſs might be preſerved, I apprehend no place in this iſland, or perhaps in any other quarter of the world, would be more healthy than *London*. If the ſulphur with which the air is impregnated, is not proper for infants, yet it is very evident that the mortality among the children of the poor is not ſo much owing to the quality of the *elements*, as to the diſordered paſſions, and

looſe,

loose, and dissolute lives of parents, with the improper aliment they give their children.

Mankind are ever apt to *complain*, but surely this age will never be reproached with being too solicitous for the good of *posterity*. If our numbers in general really decrease, we must impute it to *libertinism*, to *absurd customs*, to the nature of our amusements, or to the kinds of nutriment we take; and also to the laborious improvements of arts and sciences, and the *wastefulness* of a luxurious life. All these are in their nature productive of effects, the reverse of that *simplicity* and honest *rural labor*, in which the opulence of all nations was originally founded.

Luxury, of some kinds, among the higher orders of the people, improves life into a kind of art, and embellishes it with a *delicacy* of manners. But such are not its effect among the common people: the very essence of their excesses, consists in *gluttony* and *debauchery*, and with the loss of their *simplicity*, the edge of their

their affections is blunted, and humanity itſelf is often forgotten.

You will ſee preſently how fiercely vice and ignorance have wounded *maternal affection*, attacking the plebean orders in almoſt every quarter, but particularly in theſe great cities, carrying the dreadful banners of mortality, and bearing down whole ſquadrons. Nor do I think theſe remarks applicable to *London* only; nor ought they to be confined to the common people. In the dawnings of reaſon, nature has appointed the father in every *rank* and *degree*, to be the *lord*, the *maſter*, the ſovereign arbiter of the welfare of his children. That himſelf ſhould have given a looſe to appetite, when unſhackled from the reſtraints of youth and filial duty, is not ſo wonderful as lamentable: but when he judges for others, who are under the law of obedience, and for whoſe happineſs nature pleads ſo ſtrongly in his breaſt: when he revolves in his mind his own obſervation and experience, how apt the human frame is to be diſordered, when reaſon is not liſtened to, with

regard

regard to the quantities and qualities of food, it is amazing, whilſt he is careful what he gives to a parrot or a lap dog, he ſhould be ſo little attentive to the food of his own children. Inſtead of checking that propenſity to appetite, which moſt of us ſhew very early in life, it is common to hear parents importuning their children to eat of *variety*; nay oftentimes to *tempt* them to be guilty of *repletion*. Nature has provided the beſt ſauce: the gratification of the appetite when hunger provokes is the trueſt delight; but luxury has introduced an *artificial appetite*, which muſt needs make great havock amongſt mankind.

Perhaps the cauſe is founded chiefly in our own *ſelf-love* and reluctance to die, that the generality of mankind are ſo little acquainted with the real ſtate of mortality, in regard to the numbers that drop either in early or advanced life. The battle is not *always* to the *ſtrong*, nor the *race* to the *ſwift*, but we generally find, that healthy, virtuous and ſenſible parents, if they have a numerous race, preſerve the

greateſt

greatest part of their children: some have the good fortune not to lose one child in ten, and as this is the most pleasing consideration, we seldom enquire any farther.

To examine a point of this kind with great accuracy, is not within the compass of my knowledge, had I leisure for such purposes. I have read Dr. *Brackenridge*'s thoughts on the subject, as contained in the philosophical transactions, where he forms a table of probable mortalities drawn from the *Breslau*, together with the *London* bills of mortality. *Breslau* is an inland town, containing about 30,000 inhabitants only, and consequently more easy to form a judgment from it than from *London* alone.

Of 1000 born, he calculates thus

323	are dead in	1 year,
450	- - - in	2 years.
495	- - - in	3
527	- - - in	4
553	- - - in	5
566	- - - in	6
575	- - - in	7

582 - - - in 8 years.
588 - - - in 9
594 - - - in 10
598 - - - in 11
602 - - - in 12
606 - - - in 13
610 - - - in 14
614 - - - in 15
617 - - - in 16
621 - - - in 17
625 - - - in 18
628 - - - in 19
632 - - - in 20

Of the ſame 1000, from 20 to 30 years of age, the number encreaſes to 675 - - - in 30 years, of the ages 31 to 40 729 - - - in 40 years, of - - - 41 to 50 792 - - - in 50 years.

Thus you ſee by this calculation, that near 800 in 1000, or four in five of mankind are dead in 50 years, which number divided equally, ſuppoſes every one born to have lived no more than twelve years. If this calculation be true,

true, it must be observed that it takes in the *best* as well as the *worst* parts of mankind.

Every calculation of this kind must be subject to error, not only from the difficulty arising from the discovery of the real state of things, but that different periods are more or less fatal to mankind, as peace or war, virtue or vice, and other more secret causes predominate. The doctor may be as near the mark as calculators hitherto have generally been, upon a general view of mankind, taking in all the various circumstances and relations with respect to each other: but if we cast an eye on those who never feel the pangs of maternal tenderness, or parental love, particularly in these great cities; on those whose indigence or iniquity lead them to be indifferent whether their offspring are reared or not: and if we judge from what has happened here, for some time past, we shall conclude that *every* child, born under such circumstances, is doomed to inevitable mortality, within a year or two. We see such parents are ready to abandon them, to the chance of their being found yet alive in the streets; and many a

poor infant has been murdered by the hand of violence: but certain it is, many ſuch perſons are ready to give their children to any one who will take them; and ſuppoſe it to be the good fortune of the child to fall into the hands of the moſt judicious and moſt *tender protector*, it can hardly be nouriſhed at her own breaſt, if a female, or fed under his own eye, if a man ſnatches the infant from the jaws of death. Such infant then muſt be delivered into the hands of a ſtranger, who, unleſs great care is taken, may not be a great many removes in character and diſpoſition from her who brought it *into* the world, and bequeathed it *to the world at large*: nor can the allowance for ſupporting the infant be ſuppoſed equal to that which is generally given by *parents*. In every caſe much depends on the *virtue*, and I will be bold to ſay, on the *good ſenſe* of the man, or woman, who has the care of the child. We may imagine ourſelves to be very *wiſe*, and much improved in every art; and that the cultivation of the mind, through the travel of ſo many ages, has eſtabliſhed the art of preſerving life, on the ſecur-

eſt baſis; but are we not fallen back again, and need the prop of every virtuous heart, judicious head, and induſtrious hand? It is not the harmony of words, nor the beſt tuned period which ought to biaſs the mind to any particular opinion, where *fact* can be produced. Let us try however if we can preſerve a *greater* proportion of the children born and bred, under the circumſtances juſt deſcribed, than the following real obſervation.

After 14 years of 13 born 4 were alive.

13	13	4
12	44	14
11	30	13
10	44	16
9	18	6
8	24	14
7	40	11
6	40	17
5	70	38
4	16	8
3	16	8
2	12	8
1	8	5
	388	168

I am as unwilling as you can be, to think this is a ſtandard for our expectations: a country ſo abundant as this, a climate ſo temperate, and inhabitants ſo wiſe, as we pretend to be, ought to bluſh with confuſion of face, if we do not exert our ſkill and humanity, to preſerve a greater proportion than the above amounts to. It is an *art* of great uſe, in which every woman as well as man, who pretends to charity or underſtanding, if their fortunes allow of leiſure, ought to intereſt themſelves deeply. In whatever light this account may appear to you, who may not have extended your remarks ſo far, had we preſerved 168 out of 388, even *ſo far in life* as theſe, what a formidable body of *laborers*, *manufacturers*, *ſailors*, and *ſoldiers*, might this laſt half century have produced in theſe great cities! Of this you will judge better from the ſequel of my remarks.

It ought to be laid down as a maxim, that no *animal* is ſo capable of repair as *man*; every one of the leaſt obſervation muſt have found, that in the firſt ſtages of diſorders, *temperance* and a change of *diet*, with a little more than common

repoſe

repose or a change of *exercise*; or even the use of so simple a remedy as *water*, will frequently restore us to perfect health. Such is the force of *reason!* Nor ought we to make use of our reason merely for *our own* preservation, who may be of little worth compared to *the* whole, but for those noble ends *for* which reason was chiefly given us, the preservation of our fellow-creatures. But if we consider the helpless state of infancy, it calls aloud for all the assistance which can be found, either in the reason, passions, or affections of mankind. *Farewel.*

LETTER IX.

To the same.

MADAM,

MANY are the secret and many the apparent causes of the distress of nations as well as private families; and the more minutely we examine the history of mankind, the more striking proofs we shall discover of the efficacy of virtue to promote happiness.

With regard to excess in sensual gratifications, there are many of the polite parts of

Europe, where the higher ranks of the people are worſe than amongſt us, and more frequently deſtroy their conſtitutions: but I believe the common people of no country are become ſo exceedingly intemperate and debauched as ours, eſpecially in *London*.

It is not probable we ſhall ever return to the ſimplicity of the firſt ages; our plan is of a different kind; nor do I apprehend the human body is the ſame as it was in the antediluvian world; we can hardly ſuppoſe it is capable of laſting ſo long: but as life is deſirable above all things, one would imagine it ſhould be no very hard taſk, to check and diſcountenance all ſuch faſhions, and habits, as tend to ſhorten its true period. I ſuppoſe *Adam* and *Eve* drank pure element with all its vivifying qualities; and if they did really uſe the infuſion of any delicious herbs with which the garden of *Eden* abounded, I dare ſay *tea* was not ſelected for this purpoſe; for after all that can be ſaid of this leaf, the inferior kinds of it are extremely *nauſeous* even to perſons who drink *tea*, if they are uſed to the better ſorts only; and the

beſt

beſt *without* ſugar is very bitter and unpleaſant, and *with* it the taſte of the ſugar prevails ſo much over the taſte of the tea, as almoſt to deſtroy it. I fear tea will prove bitter to us in the end, in more ſenſes than one, if we go on at the ſame rate we have done for ſome years paſt.

I have mentioned the *vivifying* qualities of water; this is not a familiar term, but it leads me to obſerve, that altho' we are extremely attentive to the qualities of the waters we drink medicinally, yet in common uſe, however *choice* they may be; tea-drinkers muſt prepare it for the infuſion of the deluding drug in queſtion, by boiling it. It is alſo generally kept boiling for a conſiderable time, which not only deprives it of all its *virtues*, but renders it equally inſipid to the taſte; and I ſuppoſe it frequently derives noxious particles from the copper veſſel which is uſed for this purpoſe, as late experience proves in various inſtances.

And can any reaſonable perſon doubt that this *flatulent liquor* ſhortens the lives of great numbers of people? Were we to reckon that only

only one in a thousand dies annually of this *slow poison*, out of two millions of *tea-drinkers*, the state would suffer the heavy loss of two thousand subjects. If to the common vices and evils of life, we add supernumerary debaucheries, as the effects of *one* vice must undoubtedly add strength to the effects of another, the calculation grows to an amazing height. Is not this sipping fashion become a *vice?* Granting that it is not vicious in its own nature, if the example reaches to the *poor*, and it is vicious in *them*, it becomes vicious in the *rich* also, who persist in the use of it, because it is not *necessary*, nor any mark of a necessary or useful *distinction*. I am sensible that this *rule*, with regard to the effects of example, will not hold in all things; but I think it holds in the present case.

I shall say more hereafter concerning the iniquity of nurses, and what a great mortality is occasioned by their want of care. In the mean while I must observe, that one cause of the diminution of our numbers arises from the nurse, who throws away upon *tea* and *sugar* her slender allowance, which should

purchase

purchase the best *meat*, *milk* and *bread*. This is a fact not so generally known as it ought to be, nor is it credited by those who would not have it be true, but yet it is a *fact*. And what kind of tea do you imagine these people drink? A great part of it is run in upon us from the united provinces, from *Embden*, *Gottenburg*, *Copenhagen*, *Dunkirk*, *Bologne*, and other ports, costing about *fifteen* pence a pound; indeed they seldom sell their ordinary teas for above *twenty* pence. Tea which should by no means be exposed to the air, being brought from *China* in the packing of *porcelain* to serve the purposes of *saw dust*, or sold in the streets out of wheel-barrows, you must imagine will make a most *delicious* liquor!

You are to suppose the *run tea* I allude to is sold amongst us, particularly on the sea-coast, from between two and three shillings a pound; not but the smugglers bring considerable quantities of a higher quality. Coarse tea will tinge the water *deep*, and give a *bitter* taste; and such is the infatuation of common tea-drinkers, they desire but little more.

Indeed

Indeed with what tea *can* they be ſupplied? If you acquieſce in their uſing tea, and provide them with good tea, you increaſe the expence; and inſtead of *perſuading* them to lay out three pence for a pound of beef to make good broth, you will *entice* them to pay ten ſhillings for a pound of tea, which creates hunger, or deſtroys digeſtion.

You have alſo heard, that your maids ſometimes dry your tea leaves and ſell them: the induſtrious nymph who is bent on gain may get a ſhilling a pound for ſuch tea. Theſe leaves are dyed in a ſolution of *Japan earth*, as is practiſed in the united provinces; and ſome ſay in *China* alſo, but it certainly converts green tea into bohea; or makes that paſs for tea, which is ſome thing elſe: it alſo gives an aſtringency in the mouth, with a ſweet taſte, and a brown colour to that which had neither colour or taſte before: and moreover, it adds twenty-five *per* cent to the weight. This fantaſtic beverage either weakens the power of digeſtion, or by its aſtringent qualities occaſions a dry cholic, and what remedy for the cholic ſo

good

good as *gin?* Or what ſo cheap and eaſily procured? Whether pains and diſorders ariſe from this or any other kind of tea, I am groſsly abuſed in my information, or it is frequently the occaſion of dram drinking.

But to go up higher than common dram drinkers, I cannot help thinking, that whether it ariſe from the temper and habit of our bodies as we derive them from our parents, or from our own follies and exceſſes, ſince tea has been in faſhion, even *ſuicide* has been more familiar amongſt us than in times paſt. Men of falſe notions, *wrongfully judged lunatic*, who like the giants of old fight againſt heaven, and will not ſubmit to die in the way which the God of nature appoints, may think I *jeſt*. But I really believe ſuicide would not be ſo *frequent*, nor held in ſo little deteſtation, if a better diet than *tea* were in faſhion. Such men are either *low ſpirited*, and dare not look the world in the face; or their *ſpirits* become *low* and diſordered, by the uſe of certain *meats* and *drinks*, as well as by what is commonly denominated *vice*. If we drink *hot* liquors when we ſhould drink

cold,

cold, or swallow much *tea* to temper the heat of wine; and again much wine to qualify the flatulency of tea, so long as *body* acts on *soul* the consequences must be hurtful. This seems to be certain, were we *temperate* we should not *fall out* with the world, nor, let it go as it may, should we proceed to such fatal extremities!

You may smile, if you please, at this conceit, as you may when I say that *intemperance* is a species of *suicide*; but nurses who ignorantly or viciously *murder themselves* by bad habits of life, can be supposed to give very little *quarter* to the *poor infant:* and if the *rich look on*, and see the *poor* destroyed, and thus nipped in the very bud, you may be assured they will soon become *poor* themselves.

There is a strong connection between gin and tea, with respect to the *dangerous advantages* derived from them to the state, as well as to many individuals, which I shall more fully demonstrate in my next: in the mean while it ought to be remembered, that as war and famine do not make such devastation as *intemperance* in general, so in *peculiar* instances, in *particular*

ticular countries, an absurd custom or *fashion* may prevail, of which very *few* observe all its operations; and yet it may shorten the lives of *millions*, and at length reduce a state to an *abject condition*. Were mankind temperate, 'tis more than probable they would live ten or twelve years longer than they do; and the whole face of the habitable part of the globe might, according to the most apparent *design of providence*, be well peopled, especially in countries where the ravages of war seldom or never reach. But if we go on at this rate, what will become of posterity! *Farewel.*

LETTER X.

To the same.

MADAM,

IF we look back and consider the state of mankind in former ages, one may judge how the imaginations of men have labored to make discoveries, some of which seem as if they were purposely calculated to shorten life. The *best* things in all ages have been perverted: but what a curse was *he* who about 650 years

since

ſince made the diſcovery of ſpirituous liquors! We are indebted for it to the *Arabians*, and the progreſs of the limbec has been of great ſervice in the ſtudy of phyſic. I honor the *faculty*, when they act *honeſtly*, but I moſt ſteadfaſtly believe, that all the knowledge gained by diſtilling, has not done a hundredth part ſo much good, as ſpirituous liquors has done miſchief to mankind. It is not *Europe* alone which has ſuffered, the *new world* is more than half unpeopled by it: and tho' *Mahomet* guarded his followers againſt wine, yet *Perſians*, I am ſure, if not *Turks*, are very fond of ſpirituous liquor, and will drink it freely when they can get it, except the few who ſhew ſome regard to their religion.

To come *nearer home*, whilſt I am correcting this copy, the ingenious and public ſpirited citizen, the reverend Dr. *Hales* is ſo obliging, as to put into my hands a little book intitled, *friendly admonition to the drinkers of gin*, publiſhed in 1751. —— This good man has, with great ſpirit and knowledge of his ſubject, animadverted on gin in many different ſhapes, for many

many years. Among other paſſages he ſays, "The infection is ſpread ſo far and wide, that "if it continues its deſtructive conqueſts, in "the ſame manner, and to the ſame degree, "that we have unhappily lived to ſee it *ad-* "*vance*, within theſe *twenty* or *thirty* years, it "muſt needs, in a few generations, infect the "whole kingdom with its baleful influence." "For it makes it's way into the world as a "*friend* to mankind, and inſinuates itſelf un- "der the diſguiſe of *grateful flavours:* and, "under the notion of helping *digeſtion*, com- "forting the *ſpirits*, and chearing the heart, "it produces the direct contrary effects. And "though theſe deceitful Hydras are found, by "daily experience, to deſtroy multitudes, yet "are they received and entertained with ſo ge- "neral applauſe, that they boldly lift up their "invenomed heads in every ſtreet, to ſuch a "degree, as looks as if it were the buſineſs of "a *conſiderable part* of mankind to *deſtroy the* "*reſt*".

In another place the Doctor obſerves: "Nay, ſo bewitching is this *infatuation*, that

" though they cannot, moſt of them, but be " ſenſible, that they are manifeſtly ſhortening " their days, and juſt plunging themſelves in- " to their graves; yet will they not refrain. " *This an eminent Phyſician was ſo ſenſible of,* " *from his own unhappy experience, that he* " *ſaid, when men had got a habit of it, they* " *would go on, though they ſaw Hell-fire burn-* " *ing before them.* Hence we ſee what little " hope there is of reclaiming, by any argu- " ments of reaſon and religion, theſe miſerable " wretches, who are infatuated and inſlaved. " In ſuch unhappy caſes, when prudence and " ſenſe of duty bear no force; the authority " of government, and the power and juſt ex- " ecution of ſalutary laws, muſt impoſe ne- " ceſſary reſtraints, and put the *poiſon* out of " reach, by making it too dear to be pur- " chaſed".

Thus far Dr. *Hales.* Notwithſtanding the changes which this liquor has gone through, we ſtill find a great number of the common people die very early, their progeny being born in *gin,* as well as *ſin:* and what can we expect from their

their education, but *temporal* and *eternal* miſery?

Upon enquiry I find the number of *gin-drinking ſuicides*, who uſed to die in the ſtreets, is greatly diminiſhed; but the *uſe* of Gin is much more extended: it is a little lowered in quality, but it is *every where* to be *bought*. The common people do not diſpatch themſelves ſo *precipitately*, but then greater numbers die by *ſlower gradations*. If no remedy is found for this evil, we muſt repent, e'er long, in *poverty* and *depopulation!* Nor ought we to be ſurprized, *if all the calamities incident to human nature*, ſhould overtake us: we *ſee* the moſt terrible havock, created by this poiſonous beverage, and yet ſtill perſiſt in preſerving it, for the ſake of a *precarious revenue*.

May not Gin, ſome time or other, be the cauſe of a dearth in this land? Indeed it has been urged, in times paſt, that the more corn is uſed in diſtilleries, the more agriculture is encouraged. Granting this, if ſpirituous liquors are pernicious, what the diſtillery enables us to build up with one hand, we beat down

with the other, and a great deal more along with it. Whilſt things ſtand upon the preſent *falſe foundation* of *funding*, with a ruinous circulation of expence, it may be uſeful to the community that corn ſhould never be *very cheap*; but if we exported what is conſumed in the diſtillery, at almoſt any price, we ſhould gain more real *national* wealth, by ſuch exportation, than we can profit by the produce of diſtilleries in any ſhape. But religion and humanity call on us to correct ſo enormous an abuſe: when we conſider the *miſchiefs* occaſioned by this *liquid poiſon*, there is great reaſon to wiſh all the diſtilleries were burnt to the ground, beyond all human art ever to be again erected. We have been *lately* told, that at one diſtillery only, 3564 buſhels of wheat, barley, and malt, have been brewed up in one week, which is computed to be a ſufficient quantity of grain, to feed forty thouſand people; conſequently, if there are ten ſuch diſtilleries only, they conſume, or rather *deſtroy*, as much grain as is ſufficient to ſupport more than half the inhabitants of theſe vaſt cities. I do not believe

this

this is the exact calculation, for I apprehend it falls ſhort of the reality. The quantity of grain conſumed is ſuch, that no diſtiller will chuſe to confeſs what it is, though there is ſomething *criminal* in concealing a truth of ſuch vaſt importance to the community.

The author obſerves, "That theſe *manu-* "*facturers* may juſtly be ſaid to *ſtarve* the "poor in order to *poiſon* them, by inflaming "their blood and ſpirits, deſtroying their "conſtitutions, and making them mad"; concluding, that three fourths of the *fires*, *robberies*, and *murders*, in *England*, are owing to the drinking ſpirituous liquors. This ſeems to be no very romantic concluſion, for many facts countenance this opinion.

If for the uſes of certain manufacturys, diſtilled ſpirits are *neceſſary*, it may be made ſo nauſeous as not to be *potable:* but ſurely we may live without the *ſtill*. Take gin from the common people, and give them *ale*, they will ſoon forget there was ever ſuch a *deſtructive draught*. If *one* gallon can deſtroy a *dozen* men, what havock may 4,435,339 gallons occaſion?

and this quantity was diſtilled in one year, for which was paid 334,470 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* duty.

It is obſerved, that as the *genius* of our nation carries us to *extremes*, whatever we undertake, we do with ſpirit, be the cauſe *good* or *bad*; at leaſt it uſed to be ſo. Indeed a certain *celebrated*, though not pious *author*, ſays of men in high office, in this country, that ſo far from the *virtues*, they have not even the *vices* of *great men*; but, among the *lower* claſſes, thoſe iniquities which would have been otherwiſe committed with caution, are, by the force of *ſpirituous liquors*, often perpetrated with a *diabolical* courage, with a contempt of every conſideration, divine or human. This liquor is peculiarly calculated to *diſturb* the brain, and drive men into a deſperate wildneſs, which knows no reſtraint. I believe it will be found, that ſince Gin has been ſo familiar among us, the temper of the common people is much altered; from being *diligent*, many are become *idle*; from being *humane*, they are become *cruel*, at leaſt within the *Gin bills of mortality*.

Nor

Nor is it only the *quantity* of grain thus consumed; it must be observed, it is for the most part of the choicest wheat. Sweetness being the great principle of fermentation, if the corn is not sweet, that is, not in a perfect state, it will not answer the purpose of the distiller. Upon the whole, I am in hopes we shall live to see spirituous liquors, one day, become the great object of legislative inquiry, not to raise a revenue, but to discountenance the use of it, in order to draw *a greater revenue* from the *labor* and *consumption* of those who will have no existence in this world, if we continue this war against nature. Since gin and tea have been in so great use, the children born in workhouses are totally deserted by their mothers: and the leaving them to the care of women, who are versed only in the *science of burying* children, can be productive of no other effect.

Those who are enemies to gin, and yet secretly lean to the cause of tea, urge that the greatest tea-drinkers, are least addicted to

ſpirituous liquors; or, in other words, to gin. To fix this point very clearly and determinately, may be a difficult taſk, but if any who drink *tea*, drink *gin* alſo; or being addicted in the greater degree to *gin*, drink *tea*, there is reaſon to believe, from the quantity and quality of the tea they drink, as likewiſe from that of the *gin*, theſe liquors mutually aſſiſt each other, in carrying on this *dreadful war* againſt the poorer claſſes of our fellow-ſubjects.

I remember to have heard a patriot citizen *declaim* on the great quantity of *tea* which was run in upon us, notwithſtanding the duties were then lowered, and the *Eaſt-India* company had augmented their importation of this commodity, to the quantity of *three millions* of pounds. The late Mr. *Pelham*, that worthy gentleman, whoſe memory is grateful to many in this nation, anſwered in theſe words; "*Tea* then is become another *gin!*" meaning, as I underſtood, that the *vaſt* conſumption, and *injurious effects of tea*, ſeemed to threaten the lives of the common people equally with *gin*, And indeed, his opinion and

pre-

prediction ſeem to be verified in their full extent.

What an *army* has *gin* and *tea* deſtroyed! Figure to yourſelf the progreſs of this deſtruction, from the *father's*, or *mother's* drinking *liquid fire*, to the *birth* and *death* of the *child*; and how often the *ſpirits* of both parents and children, have been forced to quit their bodies, when theſe are ſet in a blaze with *gin*; or the ſprings of life loſe their powers, by perpetually ſipping hot water, and the enervating qualities of *tea*. We complain that labor is very dear, and conſequently the increaſe of commerce is checked. It is true, that in ſome places, double the price is paid for labor as was paid twenty years ago; but this ariſes partly from the local change of trade, from one place to another; it depends alſo on *ſcarcity* of proviſions, and that upon the want of inhabitants in places where greater numbers uſed to be.

In every light we conſider this ſubject, we are deeply intereſted to *preſerve the lives* of our fellow-ſubjects, and conſequently to

re-

remove from them ſuch things as are hurtful. In order to do this, we muſt uſe the gentle arts of *perſwaſion*, and point out the dreadful effects of intemperance, as well as employ the coercive power of the laws.

Nor is it with tea and gin only; how many thouſands are annually poiſoned in this nation by wine! many by uſing it in exceſs; many by not declining the uſe of it intirely; and many by uſing ſuch as is falſe, adulterated, made to *imitate* wine, and extremely bad of its kind. So many, are cut off before their time, the ſtate will ſoon feel the want of them in the moſt ſenſible manner. If it can be made appear, that by the prevalency of ridiculous and abſurd cuſtoms, *one* in a *thouſand* is annually cut off, *ten years* before the time appointed by nature, if we have nine millions in the *three* kingdoms, it amounts to nine thouſand; and, in twenty years, the king would loſe at leaſt two hundred thouſand ſubjects, who might be ſaved: and how will the number ſwell in twice the time! If this is the caſe with regard to any *one* bad habit, how eaſily

may

may we reconcile ourſelves to the belief, that our numbers are really *diminiſhed.* And if the *cauſe* of the decreaſe ſubſiſts in full force, what are we to expect for the time to come? I am afraid one part of the nation will not *lengthen* their lives by their *virtues*, in proportion as others ſhorten them by their *vices.*

Whilſt my ſhafts are chiefly directed at the cuſtom of drinking tea, the addition of other vicious habits becomes the more *alarming:* and what do you think of *ſeventy thouſand* public houſes in *England!* Well might the *Spaniard* ſay, *England is a country where half the people are employed to fill liquor for the other half.* To *one* man who is preſerved by ſuch a multitude of drinking-houſes, we may ſafely calculate that *three* are brought to their graves long before the time appointed by nature; and that during their continuance in life, the public ſuffers as much by their being rendered leſs able to provide the *real neceſſaries* and *comforts of life*, as the ſtate is benefitted by the taxes drawn from *exceſſive* drinking.

I am ſenſible, however, that *beer* and *ale* are

are the liquors proper for us; for whilſt theſe pay a *conſiderable tax*, and are very inſtrumenal to the ſupport of the ſtate, if they are not taken in very great exceſs, they not only do not *poiſon* our fellow-ſubjects, but the people are really nouriſhed by them.

Were I a *public* miniſter, perhaps things might appear to me in a different light; but whilſt common ſenſe and experience are the parents of all kinds of knowledge, and whilſt we ſee the dreadful effects of *gin*, it may be aſked, if any *circulation of money* can be an equivalent for the havock it makes amongſt us? If no gin was drank, the revenue would be made up in beer and ale: the people would work more, and receive more real nutriment, and in that conſiſts the *true circulation.* On the contrary, it muſt give but melancholy preſages of *ruin* to a ſtate, which depends on a *deſtructive* article of conſumption for a conſiderable part of the *public* revenue.

It was long ſince foretold by the *wiſeſt* and *beſt* men amongſt us, and the ſincereſt friends to their ſovereign, to liberty, and mankind, what

what a baneful influence ſpirituous liquors would ſpread over the face of this land; and that inſtead of promoting the *welfare* of the ſtate by *raiſing* taxes, in the courſe of a few ages, there would hardly be any people left to tax.——Do we not bid fair to *verify* this prediction, in a great degree? Does not experience ſupport the belief of it in the ſtrongeſt manner?——Can a wiſe ſtate raiſe a tax upon an article, which, the more of it is *conſumed*, the more the *morals* of the common people are injured, and their *lives* deſtroyed; and the weaker their conſtitutions grow, the more ſpeedy and dreadful the effects? Spirituous liquors have alreday reigned ſo long, that fifty years more will not recover the ſtrength and beauty of the breed, was not a drop of gin to be drank.

I remember to have ſeen ſome curious *calculations* of the duration of life, and the number of years, employed in hard labor, which men of certain laborious employments, fall ſhort of their fore-fathers. We have already the *cleareſt* and the *ſtrongeſt* evidence of our

want

want of numbers; and it is apparent without any *exaggeration*, that *gin* is *one* of the *chief causes* of it. Though ſome part of this devaſtation muſt be owing to exceſſive *debauchery* among the common people, particularly in theſe cities, *gin* has the greateſt ſhare in the maſſacre of our poor fellow-citizens, and particularly in their infant-ſtate. Will it not be a reproach to *policy*, as well as *humanity*, if we go on at this mortal rate? Other nations tax ſpirituous liquor, and draw a revenue from it, which is ſo much the worſe for them; but theirs is not ſo ſtrong; and though it injures the health of their men, it is not ſo generally drank; and their *women* and *children* never drink it. Let us hope that *Halcyon* days are coming on, when our *taxes* will be equally calculated for the *good* of the *ſtate*, and the *happineſs* of individuals! *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER XI.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

I HAVE often heard it complained of, that the health of our fellow-ſubjects is injured by the adulteration of the bread we eat, particularly in theſe great cities. In order to make it look the whiter, it is ſaid bakers mix allom with the flour, as well as ſell that for the flour of wheat which is oftentimes mixed with other kinds of inferior and *improper meal.* I hope this is not ſo generally true as ſome imagine, but if it is true in any *degree*, it is a matter of wonder that we ſee no *meal-man* nor *baker* puniſhed! Thoſe who are honeſt in their traffic, ſuffer in reputation in common with thoſe who have not the *fear of God* before their eyes.

When no inquiry is made into ſuch abuſes, it muſt appear, either that a government is *unhinged*, or that we *connive* at ſuch *tricks* with a view

a view to gratify a *fantastic* appetite; or as if we were afraid our lives would be *too long*. It seems as if we were in a fair way of becoming a nation of robbers and murderers: what with the pillage of the state in *public* affairs: pillage in private concerns; and frauds even in our *provisions*, if it does not meet a timely check, *anarchy* must *ensue*. Those who are guilty of such secret and *dark* practices, with regard to *bread*, may be considered in *Hobbes's state of nature*. Whether I stab a man, that I may run away with his daughter; or put a little poison in the loaf I sell him, to get a halfpenny the more for it, I make *war* with him, and instead of *dying* for his *service*, destroy him for the sake of my own gratification. If this is not the case with bakers *in general*, it is no *rare* thing, more than for *contractors* to supply bad provisions. Supposing it is but an *ounce* of allom in a *bushel* of flour, which is the computed quantity, and by bakers called the *doctor*, such a *medicine* must be *extremely detrimental* to many constitutions.

There

There is another cause *more obvious*, why all the supplies we draw from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, do not prevent a decrease of the number of inhabitants in *England*. Whilst many go to *seek* their fortunes in *America*, and obtain lands to *cultivate:* others act as if they could not support a *family* in their *mother-country*. How many men continue batchelors from *fashion*, *pride*, *vanity*, and other vicious motives, as well as from *prudence!* Except among menial servants, and common soldiers, towards both which we are faulty, the *laboring* poor marry much more, in proportion to their numbers, than the *midling* ranks of the people; the last seem disinclined to trust to providence, and their own industry. Whatever the cause may be, it is a national evil, and a great reproach to men who pretend to *virtue*, since they are apparently *deficient* in this kind of *love* for their *country*, considering it only as an *auxiliary* motive to marriage. The fault must not be imputed to *men* alone, for *women* also are often bred up to an expensive manner of life,

and *extinguiſh* their *affections*, rather than not ſupport their *vanity*.

I have heard a ſhrewd, but, I think, ſophiſtical proverb, with relation to this ſubject, "*That good men marry early, wiſe men never*". The *firſt part* is obvious to every common apprehenſion, and needs no illuſtration; the *laſt* ſeems to teach a dangerous leſſon to thoſe who want a *reaſon* for not doing their duty. If, by this proverb it is meant that men, who by the accidents or particular ſituation of their lives, having paſſed beyond the *proper* period for this engagement, will act unwiſely if they enter into it out of ſeaſon; this depends on ſuch numerous circumſtances, it is almoſt impoſſible to lay down any rule. If we conſider, in the firſt place, the laws of nature, the good order of a civilized ſtate, and the promotion of happineſs in ſociety, the proverbial ſaying might ſtand thus: *Good men marry early, fools never.*

St. *Paul* warned his followers who were under a ſtate of perſecution, not to enter into engagements inconſiſtent with the arduous

ſtruggles

ſtruggles they were to go through, in defence of their *faith*; yet ſtill he told thoſe who inclined to matrimony, *they did well.* We do not find that he was himſelf married, and the reaſon ſeems to be plain: his conſtitution was infirm; his genius led him into the buſy world: he delighted in books, and above all, enjoyed ſo *enlarged* a mind, that he could not make any thing the prime object of his thoughts, eſpecially after his converſion, leſs than the *good* of his *country*, and the ſervice of mankind. It does not appear that his paſſions were *languid*; but he found ſufficient exerciſe for all the powers of his ſoul, in that important office he had undertaken.

And what think you of that great *maſter of reaſon*; the celebrated Mr. *Locke?* It is more probable that he conſulted his *inclination* rather than his *reaſon*, in not marrying; and yet, if I am not miſinformed, a woman was a greater miſtreſs of his ſecrets, than the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his own ſex. If the greateſt of mankind refine beyond *nature*, and *common ſenſe*, inſtead of being *wiſer* than the ordinary

race of men, they become more *foolish*. But supposing these illustrious persons acted with the utmost propriety, it does not appear that the present age abounds in St. *Paul*'s, or in *Locke*'s; and though *fools* often marry, and wise men sometimes let it alone, yet if this matter were fairly examined into, I fancy it would generally be found, that the *foolish*, so far as this instance goes, act *wisely*, and the *wise foolishly*. That the former are so far the best citizens is beyond all dispute; and it is high time the *libertine*, or too *refined reasoner*, should change his system, and leave the *vicious* part of mankind only to boast of their *capricious freedom*.

As to the happiness or misery of wedloc, that must still depend on the virtue and understanding of individuals. And he or she who discharges all the other duties of *society*, in a manner becoming the dignity of human nature, adding to it the *duties* of this relation, will surely be more acceptable in the sight of God, as they ought to be in the eyes of men, than those who, either from vicious motives,

or

or false reasonings, neglect so essential a duty to their country.

This thought leads me to the remembrance of a noble kind of political benevolence practised by the *French*, whom I honor in *many* instances, in their political capacity. At the marriage of the dauphin of *France*, a considerable sum of money was given to be divided as *dowries* among a certain number of *poor girls*. If the noble lords and gentlemen of *England*, who make a bustle about the increase of *birds* and *beasts*, with a view to their diversions, would think more of the increase of *men*, for the good of their common parent, as it seems to be very much in their *power* to do works of this nature, it would be very *highly* to their *praise*. The most transient observation must teach us, that such a conduct, whilst it afforded the highest proof of their patriotism, would add greatly to the happiness of the most *virtuous* part of their fellow-subjects in *humble life*.

If our clergy also were more vigilant in promoting the happiness of those under their care,

they would render themſelves more *reſpected*, than they generally are; and the more *they* mixed *ſound policy* with *true religion*, the more theſe motives would mutually act on each other, and *patriotiſm* and *piety* would become ſynonimous terms.

If there are yet any difficulties in the *marriage act*, or if experience proves that it ſtops the courſe of marriage in any degree, it ought to be rendered more familiar and intelligible.

If the parents of numerous families in low life were diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiar advantage, it might be a wiſe inſtitution.

But, if we would ſupport our ſplendor and opulence; if we mean to keep *poverty* and *oppreſſion* at a great diſtance; if we would act the part of *men*; and teach our dependants to live more according to the laws of God, and nature, inſtead of *rejecting domeſtics*, and *menial ſervants*, becauſe they are married, I think we ought to *prefer* them on that very account. Such a ſtep would greatly facilitate the end propoſed, in a *political* view, whilſt it promoted a ſenſe of religion among the lower

lower classes of the people, who seem to have very little of it at present; the inconveniences we might suffer in *one* light, would be abundantly made up to us in *another*. And whether our numbers are really *decreased* or not, whatever tends to *increase* them, consistent with the laws and good order of society, ought to be encouraged. We ought not to lay *restraints* merely to gratify our *pride* or *convenience*. Too many restrain *themselves* from the consideration of the difficulty of supporting their offspring: indeed, that difficulty will cease among the common people in and about *London*, if we support the *foundling hospital*. If such proposals were *duly considered*, great advantages might be derived from them, to a nation so distressed as we are, in consequence of false maxims, ridiculous customs, prodigality and expence. *Farewel.*

LETTER XII.

To the same.

MADAM,

TO be convinced that I am in *earnest*, and have strong reasons for what I urge, I beg that you, and every woman who does not wear in her breast a *flint* instead of a *heart*, will make enquiry into the state of nurses and children in these great cities. I could tell you a tale which would draw tears from your eyes, though they were unused to weeping.

It is a common fault of mankind, that whenever they make any object the subject of their thoughts and enquiries, they are apt to consider it with too much, or too little attention. No man was more inclined than myself to believe, that complaining of vicious practices is one of the foibles of the time, or the

the effect of more than common piety, in those who complained, but, not that *this* is more wicked or immoral than *former ages:* indeed I marked it out in the *history of my time*, as the age of *corruption*, *idleness*, and *puerility*. But with regard to the point in question, I can with-hold my assent no longer; I feel the force of *conviction*; the repeated and indubitable testimonies of the *havock* amongst the poor, in their *infant state*, are extremely shocking to humanity, and call aloud for redress.

There are *some* parishes in these cities, in which *all* the children in their workhouses, under the *care*, or *no care* of parish-nurses, for many years past, have died.——In *others*, in a course of years, out of three thousand, only forty lived to be put out apprentice. Out of *one hundred and seventy four* brought into a certain parish in *two* years, how many, upon a modest computation, might live to the age of *two* months? one would have thought three-fourths of them; but, in fact, only *eleven* were alive; and these, to all appearance,

ance, had a wretched being protracted for a few days more, being consigned over to the inevitable mortality which attends the *excessive* use of *tea* and *gin*. Among some *whole classes* of the common people in *London* and *Westminster*, the case has not been much better. From what causes can such strange effects proceed, in a country where the climate is temperate; where the air is pure; where the earth is plentiful; where the people, they say, are *civilized*; and, what is more, *reputed humane*.

It must be acknowledged, that in *London*, shame to the *police* of this nation! are many old streets where the houses are in *ruins*; where indolence and poverty keep the people in *rags* and *dirt*; where gin and tea are drank; and where the children, born in such places, have but a poor chance for their lives, was there no other cause of mortality than the bad air they breathe. Is it not strange that the life of a man should be so little thought of! What little consideration has been shewn to support the race of the working poor!

Why

Why have not thoſe who were charged with the care of pariſhes, ſent the children into the *country*, where the air is good, and where they might be free from confinement? If we examine this matter to the bottom, we ſhall find ſuch a *neglect* of care in the inſpection of theſe affairs, among men of *fortune*, *education* and *ſentiment*, as can be atoned for only by their double diligence for the *future*.

We have alſo ſuffered human nature to be ſo much *diſgraced*, that *infants* have been hired out from *work-houſes* to extort charity: happy when their lives are *preſerved* for ſo deteſtable a purpoſe. And what cognizance has been taken of ſuch infants as are expoſed in the ſtreets, to the complicated miſeries of hunger, nakedneſs, and inclemency of weather? Under *ſuch* circumſtances, can we *wonder* that a recruit of ſo many thouſands ſhould become neceſſary in theſe cities? or ought we to be ſurprized if thoſe *ſources* ſhould fail, from whence ſuch *recruits* are drawn?

Whether it regards beggars in the ſtreets, or pariſh nurſes, the caſe ſeems to be deplorable.

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If we judge from experience, the beggar's child, when it is really *hers*, bids fairest to be preserved from the *tragic* scene of *Herod*'s cruelty practised in work-houses: it would be a harsh word to call it murder; but it was become the source of inevitable mortality to put infants under the care of parish nurses in these cities. The case may not have been equally lamentable in *all* parishes: some parish-officers may have enjoyed a little more common sense, and a small share of humanity in the management of their *poor*; but, if a true and impartial account of what has happened, for thirty years past, was laid before the public, it is hard to say whether it would create greater *indignation*, *sorrow*, or *wonder*, at the vast crowds which have been hurried to an early grave!

I am perswaded, that *a heap of dead children* has been, for a long time, a more pleasing, and a more *familiar* object to the generality of common parish-nurses, than a *nursery of living ones*; as if they had contracted an habitual sensibility of the *death of infants*, as a common soldier of his companions, after a dozen bloody

bloody campaigns. One never hears indeed of a *killing ſoldier*. His buſineſs is to *conquer*, not to *kill*, if he can keep alive; but I have heard of the term *killing nurſe*, as truly applicable to her, out of whoſe hands no infant has ever eſcaped *alive*.

It is notorious, that beſides the other vices which reign amongſt the *poor*, theſe nurſes *often* drink drams; but, were it only a dram occaſionally, the poor infant, if it is not ſtarved for want of wholſome food, is poiſoned with the noxious effects of ſuch aliment. Was this the practice in the days of our grandmothers? Did *women* with *children* at their *breaſts*, ſwallow liquid fire to extinguiſh that promethean heat, which no liquid fire can ever reſtore again? *Thrice happy* were it for *mankind*, if it was made a capital offence, in every clime, to diſtil any ſpirituous liquor. Good wine would anſwer all the purpoſes, even in medicine; and *diſtilled ſpirits* have done more miſchief to mankind, than the plague or famine.

Amongſt us, *tea* has aſſiſted to ſupport the reputation of *gin*, and both together bid very fair

fair to unpeople this island. Gin is esteemed by many *tea-drinkers*, more necessary to support their *spirits*, than bread or water to *nourish* life. The sipping of any liquid is apt to create a flatulency, but the sipping of the infusion of *bad tea*, or something worse than bad tea, always made *strong*, and generally loaded with *sugar*, if it does not create a *scorbutic* habit, or waste time, it gives the cholic, hypochondria, weak eyes, and weaker limbs. These distempers were not familiar before tea came in fashion, even amongst *fine ladies*, but hardly ever known amongst the *poor*.

Nor is this all, parish-nurses who drink tea, which surely is not *necessary*, unavoidably consume a great part of their *weekly allowance*, to the direct prejudice of herself or the child. One halfpenny a time for tea, and the same for sugar, if tea is drank twice a day, consumes *fourteen* out of *thirty* pence; and how are the *necessaries* of life to be supplied? And if such nurses receive their allowance for any time after the child is dead, as frequently happens, it becomes their *gain* and *profit*, that the child

should

ſhould *die*. Heaven knows how many poor infants have been diſpatched into the other world; I hope they meet a kinder reception there! It is to be hoped the *times are mending*, and that we ſhall alter our rule of conduct, if not for *God's ſake*, nor yet for our country's, for the ſake of *novelty*, and a change of *faſhion*.

I have lately read ſome political memoirs concerning the mortality of the infant poor at *Paris*, which the author imputes to the *improper* diet of mercenary nurſes, their *careleſſneſs*, and *libertiniſm* at the very time they give ſuck. If *he* has reaſon to complain of the women in *France*, it is as plain that we have reaſon to lament the ſame *evil* in *England*. The increaſe of wealth ſeems to lead mankind the farther from the paths of nature; and *rich* countries contract vices which *poor* ones are ſtrangers to. This author expects no ſpeedy reformation, and therefore recommends the feeding of infants with the *milk of animals*, which he ſays is the conſtant cuſtom in the *North*, and the cauſe why men in ſuch countries are ſo much more *robuſt* than theirs. We may poſſibly ſee,

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e'er long, whether it be so or not, with regard to *ourselves*; but he certainly mistook the matter, in saying that infants *with us*, are *generally* nourished with the milk of animals. It is true, that we are much better supplied with cow's milk in *London*, than the inhabitants of *Paris*, yet of late years it seems to have answered very little purpose, for gin and tea have been prefered to milk; or so mixed with milk as to destroy its *salutary nutrimental* qualities.

Wet-nursing will ever stand on the foundation of nature's appointment, yet we find by sad experience, that if it is not properly administered, there is no *magic* power in it, to save the lives of infants. Unless women act more agreeable to nature, the infant will expire at the *breast*, as well as by *dry-nursing*.

The life of an infant born to labor, politically considered, may happen to be of more value than the life of a *duke*; and the laws of humanity permit of no distinctions in what is *essential* to the preservation of life. But the infant who is born in *poverty*, if he is abandoned

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by his own mother, can hardly have any *choice* of nurſes, and is frequently left to be fed by hand; a cuſtom not unknown to paſt ages. Thoſe who imagine, that the moſt ſagacious dry nurſe, can be equal to her who feeds the child at her breaſt, if the laſt is *careful*, adopt a very romantic notion: but when ſuch cannot be found, if we mean to ſave the lives of the *poor*, we muſt look out for the *ſober*, *humane*, *induſtrious*, and *experienced* woman, as a dry-nurſe.

If we conſider what an indifference to their offspring *cuſtom* has introduced amongſt the *rich*; and what infamous neglects amongſt the *poor*: if we reflect that *mercenary* views are often ſubſtituted in place of the *order* of nature, and *levity* and *debauchery* frequently turn the *courſe* of human affections, there is great reaſon to engage the *ableſt heads*, and the *warmeſt hearts*, to *improve* the *methods* of *dry-nurſing*.

When wet-nurſes are not to be found in ſuch numbers as are neceſſary, the *fortunate*, the *ſkilful*, and the *experienced* matron, ſhould

teach the poor what kind of food or phyſic is moſt proper for children, ſuppoſing it to be within their capacity of providing, and the beſt manner of preparing it. How often, and in what proportions it ſhould be given, the moſt acute will never be able to determine exactly; yet the *reaſon* of one may lead her very near the mark, whilſt we *ſee* another's carry her very far from it. It is not enough to ſay the child muſt take its fortune, and will do as well as the children who are born in the places where it is ſent: the poor woman who has fed her own children at her breaſt, may feed the ſtranger in the ſame way; but, if poverty tempts her to take charge of *two* children, or to breed them up by hand, and ſhe is ignorant of the proper method of doing it, the conſequence muſt be *fatal.* There are *many right ways*, and more *wrong ones*; but, to reaſon from *fact*, one would imagine that many nurſes are as *ignorant* of their own *profeſſion*, as they are of *Euclid's elements.*

It is not the child of the peaſant only; I believe the heir of a dukedom ſometimes peri-

riſhes for want of proper enquiry into the *circumſtances* of a nurſe. The fooliſh and wiſe, the ſickly and healthy, the delicate and robuſt, are as diſtinct claſſes amongſt the *poor*, as among the *rich*, and her whom nature has provided with milk for her own child, may poſſibly have none, or *none* that is *good*, for a ſtranger. I believe the child is ſometimes loſt by the milk of a ſtrange woman being *heterogeneous* to the conſtitution of the infant. It is alſo obſerved, that the new milk of all animals is *purgative*, with which nature intends to cleanſe the body of their young. The caſe is the ſame in the human ſpecies; but if the new born infant ſucks milk of *ſix*, or *twelve*, or *eighteen* months old, is it *agreeable* to nature? May it not *frequently* occaſion the *death* of a child?

If we reflect maturely on the *maladies* with which ſome infants are born, the *flaws* in their conſtitution, joined to the *improper* manner of living, among nurſes who give ſuck: if we conſider the general good of the *whole* in one great view, and how the departure of

one from the paths of nature may diſtreſs *many*, 'till ſuch time as the *rich*, as well as the *poor*, live more *according to nature*, good *policy* as well as *humanity*, call on us to attend to the improvement of *dry-nurſing*; that when neceſſity obliges to have recourſe to it, we may be watchful not to loſe a *ſingle* life, which can be ſaved.

We are upon an *intereſting* ſubject. Is it not obvious to common ſenſe and experience, that children at the breaſt, in the firſt ſtages of their diſorders, ought to be fed occaſionally, with *broth*, and animal food, properly prepared, to correct the crudities which milk creates, eſpecially after the *nurſe* has fed *improperly*? but this does not ſeem to be ſufficiently attended to. So, in *dry-nurſing*, the occaſional ſuccor of the breaſt, to infants who begin to droop, may alſo exceed the *virtues* of all the *drugs* which nature has provided for the preſervation of the human ſpecies; but neither does one ſee this much practiſed. Here indeed ariſes a difficulty. If a child moans for the breaſt after once ſucking, muſt it therefore

fore die for fear it ſhould die? But I will leave this to the diſcuſſion of the *learned.* May not the child be *deceived* by *art*, and again reconciled to the former method of feeding, with leſs *danger* than it would be expoſed to, were no ſuch aſſiſtance given?

In whatever light we conſider theſe *weighty matters*, nothing is more agreeable to the nature of mankind, than to *honor* and *reſpect* thoſe, who are *honored* by our *ſuperiors.* Can the ladies of this land give a more judicious proof of their patriotiſm, than to encourage nurſes to take care of ſuch infants as are thrown upon the public? Can they appear in a nobler point of view, than to exerciſe their humanity in a manner ſo *proper*, and ſo *beneficial?* Their expreſſion of that *tenderneſs*, which ſo greatly *dignifies* human nature, muſt have a wonderful effect in *ſaving* the lives of infants; and ſhe who ſaves a life, is more intitled to praiſe, than her whoſe *beauty* gives every tongue a ſubject.

I once knew a lady, in the pride of her charms, which indeed attracted the eyes of all be-

beholders; who, in an extravagant fit of *penitence*, or *piety*, thinking it of no consequence to make a *conquest* of her *admirers*, resolved to *overcome the world*, for she devoted herself to attend as a servant in a *Lazare* house. This was a severe task indeed! but to visit the children of the poor, and assist them, with their advice and *inspection*, to ladies of easy fortunes, who are advantageously situated for such purposes, ought rather to be thought a *pious amusement*, than a *penitential labor*.

I do not pretend to lay down rules, but to throw out my broken thoughts concerning the various reasons which have created so great a mortality among the children of the working poor, in hopes it may set others on thinking more to the *purpose*.

It is an established rule with some able physicians, that an infant seldom cries but from *pain*, and not near so often from the *pain of hunger*, when that happens, as is generally imagined. I suppose it is with infants as with grown persons, that over-feeding is painful: and the feeding children when they are really sick,

ſick, muſt frequently *increaſe* their diſorders; Is this properly attended to? Do nurſes think of more than affording a *temporary* relief?

The cuſtom of torturing children by *ſwadling*, preſſing their ſculls, frequently pricking their bodies with *pins*, and pining their caps to their ſculls, is *abominable*. I do not mean that this is done *purpoſely*, but one hears of it almoſt in every family every day. From the *nature* of their dreſs it muſt happen often, and I believe is more frequently the occaſion of their lamentations, than is imagined. Confinement for want of air, and ſuch kind of habits in which nature has no ſhare, render us as *barbarous* in our manners, as almoſt any nation on the face of the globe. Many *know better*, but it is plain that thouſands die through the *ignorance*, as well as the *inadvertency* of the nurſe.

The keeping children *clean*, and *ſweet*, the carrying them into the open air in fine weather, gentle friction, and playing with them, contributes more to their health, than is generally attended to. Nurſes ſhould alſo take

gentle exerciſe every day, to which I am afraid they are not always attentive. The ſtrength, health, and cleanlineſs of nurſes, are alſo eſſential articles, in ſecuring the life of a child.

With regard to *diet*, more care ſhould be taken. In ſome families nurſes are *pampered* and indulged, but it is very eaſy to conceive, that every kind of *nutriment* which does not eaſily aſſimulate with the blood, but ſtimulates, inflames, and diſorders the whole animal oeconomy, as it muſt have hurtful effects on the *woman*, it will, in proportion to the tender frame of the infant at her breaſt, be more fatal to the child.

You muſt not be ſurprized that I expatiate thus. The ſaving a *life* is next to ſaving a *ſoul*. Would it not be a very proper topic for the *clergy*, to remind nurſes of the *importance* of the *taſk* they have undertaken, and the duties they owe to God, and their neighbor, with regard to the tender infant, whom nature has brought into the world, in ſo helpleſs a ſtate,

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as if it was intended to remind them of the unchangeable obligations of *humanity*?

Nature would indeed do this, and a great deal more, if we attended to her precepts; but, as every vicious habit is a deviation from the laws of nature, the repetion of it leads us so much the farther from the true path, till at length we quite *lose sight* of her. Hence it arises, that some nurses, whom nature has bound with so many *ties*, and invoked by the most *perswasive* calls, have violently broken their *hold*; and, shutting their ears to the voice of the charmer, have become almost as cruel to their own species, with regard to an habitual indifference to the preservation of their lives, as one brute animal to another of a different species.

As we are now pleading the *cause of humanity*, the cause of injured *innocence*, so peculiarly acceptable in the sight of God, will it be too great presumption to remind *women of condition*, as well as *mercenary nurses*, to be observant of their *duty*? *Nature* has taught them to be careful of their offspring, above all other

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considerations; but *custom*, and a fondness for trifling amusements, have given them a *different lesson*. How many infants become the *victims* of a blind confidence in *strangers!* It is a melancholly consideration, that *mothers* so easily part with their children, when the *irrational* creation often die in defence of their young!

Politically considered, whether the common nurse destroys *herself*, or a *child*, with *gin*, or *debauchery* of any kind; or the *fine lady* by drinking too much tea; sitting up too late; or harassing her mind, or her body, to gratify any *silly passion*, the king loses a subject, and the state is injured.

Such observations as these must be familiar to *thinking women*, especially if they take into their consideration, a *little more* than just what regards the concerns of private life. *Experience* is the best guide; but the misfortune is, that we live in a *thoughtless age*; thoughtless with respect to the momentous concerns of eternity; and thoughtless with respect to the welfare of *posterity* in this world. We see the lamentable effects of this turn of mind in the

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conduct of *public* affairs *for many years past*, as well as in the *private* economy of men's fortunes; nor is it less obvious in the decay of *health*, *beauty*, *strength*, and *loss* of subjects.

The want of knowledge, virtue, and *maternal* tenderness amongst the *poor*, renders *new* regulations necessary, otherwise millions of infants must fall victims, to the carelessness and intemperance of those who bring them into the world. In the way we are going, I say *millions* will, in the course of years, fall victims to ignorance and vice. Unless some wholesome discipline and order takes place, by which infants may be taken under proper care, they cannot have a *fair* chance for their *lives*, or at best will never be stout and healthy; consequently justice will not be done to the community to whom those *lives* are of such vast importance.

Though this is our *general* complaint, we are not all *asleep*. A physician some time since wrote a treatise on *nursing*, and, as a proof of the good sense, and useful hints, contained in this little book, it went through many editions.

tions. One remark in it struck me in a particular manner: it relates to the opinion of those who think it an invasion of the prerogative of women, for men to intermeddle in *directing* the nursing of infants; but the *absurdity* seems to consist in treating this business, as the *Romans* did the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, sacred rites to which only women were admitted. We are told, that a very *wicked fellow*, one *Cataline*, dressed in womens clothes, intruded himself, and prophaned these mysteries; but *our wickedness* seems to consist in a careless disregard of one of the plainest duties of *policy* and *humanity*. If women were entirely equal to the task, it would be *more happy* for us: but if they are *careless*; if they are *ignorant* of what they ought to do, to preserve the lives of children, they must be reminded of their duty. No body doubts but the knowledge acquired by experience is *best*; and parents have generally more tenderness for their *own offspring*, than for that of *other people*; but where there is plainly a fault somewhere, it seems to be his business who has leisure, and is influenced by motives

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of humanity, to endevor to trace out the causes of such calamitys, and to do his utmost to remove them.

With all due *submission* to the *faculty*, and with *reverence* to *parents*, I claim the privilege of feeling some *tenderness* for children, and some regard to *posterity*; therefore, to sum up my evidence in this *weighty cause*, I observe what crowds there are of women, who *never* attempt to suckle their own children: what numbers who, I believe, *cannot* give suck, without danger to their health; with whole squadrons of *mercenary nurses*, of whom too many are dissolute or infirm, and rendered but ill qualified for nursing: add to these the incapacity of many women to nourish above one child at her breast. Thus, if mortality alone can create more *nurses* than there are *children*, in this general view it seems to follow, that infants must often *suffer*, and even die, by the defect of *quantity* or *quality* of the food which nature has appointed for them. If women between the ages of *twenty* and *thirty* can easily support *two* children at the breast, it supposes them *firm* in

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conſtitution, and living according to nature; the firſt I am afraid is not the caſe with the *majority* of women, even of the ages above-mentioned, and the laſt is hardly to be found any where. By living according to nature, I would not be underſtood in a rigid ſenſe; but to live ſo as to preſerve perfect health, and not to hurt the child by any intemperance.

To conſider ſtrictly what is *right*, is but half the buſineſs: we muſt examine what is reducible to general uſe. If we depart *too far* from the great law of *nature*, as it is clearly pointed out, it will be very difficult to eſtabliſh any *artificial* rules to help us in the ſearch of it again by another road: but, as *neceſſity* is the *mother* of invention, we may be allowed to enquire *freely*, and try *every experiment* which reaſon will warrant. *Farewel.*

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LETTER XIII.

To the same.

MADAM,

WE may amuse ourselves with *finding fault* with the world, and carry our complaints so far as to become very *faulty ourselves*. But if it is more easy to *flatter*, than to *reprove* mankind, into a love of virtue; and if the acquisition of virtue is the great object in view, our *chastisements* must be tempered with *tenderness*. As soon as we discover the *disease*, we should hold out the *remedy*. Happy might it be for us, if the *remedy* were so easy to discover as the *disease*; but, as nothing is *foreign* to the human heart, in which humanity is concerned, we must exert the powers which God has given us; and, as I told you in my last, try such experiments as promise fairest, in *hopes* to find the *cure* at last. Nor ought

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our ſpirits to be depreſſed with *foreboding* fears: all things are in the hands of God, and we ſee, as time travels on, what ſtrange viciſſitudes, different periods produce. To day we are *wiſe*; to-morrow *fooliſh*; and the next day wiſe again.

If we conſider the three kingdoms in one collected view, I am perſwaded our numbers will be found, not only diminiſhed within this century, but the *ſtature* and *beauty* of the ſpecies is moſt apparently injured. If theſe *evils* are obvious, we muſt ſeek the *remedy*.

It is now about *fifteen* years ſince the active, intelligent, and benignant ſpirit which, thanks to heaven, prevailed amongſt many good and great perſons, erected a *Foundling-Hoſpital*. But as the building, ſmall and limitted as it is, for ſo noble and extenſive a deſign, could not be erected without a large ſum, and as that depended on private beneficence, no proviſion was made, during more than ten years, for above one thouſand four hundred infants, and the partial reception of a *few*, could anſwer no *great* purpoſe. At length it is become

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truly a foundling-hospital. The legislators have taken it under their protection *; and, to all human appearance, it is the most effectual method, not only to preserve the lives of those whose parents are in *sickness*, or in *poverty*, *vicious*, or devoid of the impulses of humanity; but it goes a great way farther, and may at length become a means of relieving us from a load, next to *Egyptian* bondage, under which no other nation groans. An *exorbitant poor's rate*, in a country abounding with hospitals of every kind, and skilful in the means of giving employment to almost every person, from four to fourscore, is *abominable!*

Distress often renders men desperate; but if the indigent parent finds relief, by his child being supported by the public, it may

* What was said in the first edition of this book, concerning the foundling-hospital, was previous to the resolution of parliament, by which the governors and guardians were ordered to open their doors to all infants under a certain age, from *June* to *December* 1756. and for support of them 10,000 *l.* was then granted.

animate him, at least, to take care of himself and his wife; the child being provided for, the distress will be so far alleviated. I am sensible the argument may be turned against the hospital, but this sense of it is most agreeable to common experience. The child whose life is *saved*, is hardly to be valued by any *pecuniary calculation*: but if he is taught to live *soberly* and *religiously*, and to get his bread by the sweat of his brows, in the final issue, the *present expence* must revert to the *public*, with ample interest.

Happy is that nation, the virtue and industry of whose people render such establishments unnecessary: but we must consider things as *they are*: the evil was grown enormous, and the least dangerous experiment is to support all the children under a certain age, of parents who *cannot*, or being wicked *will not*, support their own offspring. This is striking at the *root* of a great part of our national distress, arising from the great *mortality* among the *poor* in *London*. Such mortality is but a natural consequence of ignorance and idleness, lewdness and immorality;

lity; and these are the genuine effects of a bad education: but sobriety, and virtuous habits, will promote the welfare of a *state*, as well as the happiness of *individuals*. The number of our working poor is decreased, and their strength decayed, but it may be hoped, by the good conduct of this hospital we shall, in the course of time, recover again, by introducing a more virtuous race of working poor, so that the next generation may not be in the same necessity of depending on such an hospital. As *their* virtue increases, so will *their* affection for *their* children; and thus it may be expected, in time the disease will cure itself.

This hospital, if well managed, will become a very *profitable* object to the public. The *boys* being bred up hardy and active, when sent early to sea, will become the completest *mariners*. *Husbandry* and *manufactory* will thrive by means of these children, who might otherwise have had no existence.——The *girls* being accustomed to *regularity*, the use of their needle, and the drudgery of *domestic* life, will fill up some of the most useful offices in fami-

lies. If every thing that is *bad* is kept from them, and every thing that is *good* and proper to their condition, is set before their eyes, spite of the *perverseness* which reigns amongst us, we may hope to see these children, some of the most *useful*, and therefore the most *valuable* subjects.

But there is nothing *great* or *noble*, to be done without labor and attention, *candor* and unanimity. We must all be assistant in carrying on this great work. Let the legislature be ever so indulgent, and the governors and guardians ever so generous in bestowing a greater portion of their time and solicitude, than can well be expected, even from those whose circumstances are *fortunate* and *happy*; yet the greatest object of all, I mean the preservation of the *lives* of these infants, must depend, in a great measure on the *inspectors* of their nurses. Those whose humanity, generosity, and patriotism, incline them to take the charge of inspecting such a number of nurses as they think *proper*, and as is convenient with regard to their neighborhood, will perform

form a very *important duty*. This task, as I observed in my last letter, seems more peculiarly to belong to the *rich* and *happy*, of both sexes, but particularly of *yours*. Nor must they judge too scrupulously what is meant by *riches* and *happiness*: it ought to be considered as one of the noblest kinds of *charity*, in the way which nature, and nature's God has pointed out. It is a task worthy the most *exalted* spirit, and by no means inconsistent with the *truest delicacy*.

Whilst war is making havock among the species, the *female patriot*, whose natural good affections, and sense of duty, render her watchful of the preservation of her own children, will extend her care to preserve the lives of the *poor*, in their infant-state. Those who have *no children* have still the stronger motives to discharge this duty, a duty which *politically*, as well as *religiously* considered, has so many charms to grace and adorn humanity.

It is true, the *remedy* of these evils doth not depend entirely on the encouragement of *nurseries*, *schools*, or *hospitals*; the *rich* in private

life must be more generally watchful of the *poor*; the *fortunate* of the *unfortunate*; and the virtuous of those who, having yet retained a sense of *shame*, would gladly *avoid* throwing themselves on the *public*. The want of attention in this instance, I fear, has been the *secret cause* that many a parent has become abandoned, hardly ever to return to a sense of humanity; and falling off from parental affection, have become *thoughtless* and indifferent by what means their children were *preserved*, or *perished*. Every motive must be employed, and every expedient tried. Let them be assisted with *good advice*, *occasional charities*, and above all, with the *means* of getting their bread by their *labor*, the task, though arduous, will be found *practicable*. Endevor to find them *constant employment*, and they will have no time to waste over their *cups of tea*, nor any inclination to poison themselves with *gin*: keep them out of *idleness*, and *half* the business is done.

As to establishing hospitals in the several counties throughout the kingdom: for the *present* I believe it will be most *prudent* and

necessary

necessary to establish colonies of the *London* hospital, in cheap and convenient counties, and by this means supply such counties, from the most contiguous nurseries, with children of *five* years of age, the time proposed to take them from their nurses, in return for the *men* and *women* which *London* annually draws from the several provinces of the kingdom. It is natural to expect that these children will become virtuous *husbandmen*, *mechanics*, *manufacturers*, and *servants*. It is in *London* only we have heard of infants being murthered: in *London* they suffer most from confined air, and narrow streets. *London* is the grand *rendezvous* of people of every denomination; the *seat* of *empire* and *felicity*; the infernal cavern of *gin*, which is the chief devourer of the *British* blood, and consequently *London* is the chief abode of *indigence* and *misery*.

An illegal amour in a *country town*, or village, is generally attended with a *voluntary*, or *compulsive* marriage, and the parties are induced to take care of their offspring, at least in the infant-state, whatever accidents may after-

wards reduce them to the *wicked choice*, or *virtuous necessity* of throwing them on the *parish*.

The circumstances of *London* are such, that it is amazing, so wise and intelligent a nation should have so long neglected the establishment of a *foundling-hospital*, especially when we consider those weighty reasons, derived from what we saw, with our *own eyes*, for so long a course of years. Happy for us had it been otherwise, but now we may thank heaven, that the foundling-hospital is an object of the public care.

The foundling-hospital at *Paris* receives above four thousand infants annually. I believe *London* contains three eighths as many more people as *Paris*, though the births and burials there are near 18,000 annually; but if among the lower classes we are yet *more* vicious and abandoned than the *French*; it follows, that though in general we are not so *poor*, our necessity of an extensive foundling-hospital is greater than theirs.

But time, as well as care, is necessary to bring

bring an undertaking of ſuch importance to maturity. I have already had occaſion to obſerve to you, that the life of man is eſtimated at only eight years and a half *: I ſhould have ſaid, that not half of mankind live ſeventeen years. In *London* ſeven in ten are computed to die under two years of age: but if infants are not dangerouſly diſeaſed from their birth, concerning the frequency of which doctors differ in opinion, not above three in ten might die within this period, eſpecially if to the difference of air, we add the undebauched affections of the country nurſe, and her living in the country, more according to nature than is practiſed among the common people in theſe great cities. Our *foundling-hoſpital* muſt be ſupported by the zeal and care of proper *inſpectors*, and I hope it will become faſhionable for *ladies*, as well as *gentlemen*, to think it more deſerving of praiſe, from their drooping country, to *ſave a life*, than to ſhine in a ſplendid garment. I hope we ſhall be able to rear to the age of thirty at leaſt, one with

* Vol. I. Letter XXXIX.

with another, *one* thousand out of *four*, perhaps a greater proportion, and that the public will have more years of service from them, than any computation of the expence can amount to.

By what I have said concerning the observations of *calculators*, I may add, that of four thousand born, only six hundred and forty are computed to be *alive* at the end of *thirty six* years. Much depends on *virtue* and *common* sense! Would to *God* these were more *common* amongst us, that we might give *living* proof that nature never intended so *noble* a part of her *productions* should last so little a while, but rather that the life of *every human creature* is not limited to less than 80 or 100 years. To consider things as they are, even upon the estimate of conducting to manhood six hundred and forty, out of four thousand deserted children, what a vast acquisition of strength it will be to the *state*, compared with the mortality of one hundred and sixty three, out of one hundred and seventy four, within the age of two months: or that great *workhouse devastation*, in

in which hardly ten in one thousand have lived to the age of *fifteen!*

As a supplement to what I mentioned about feeding infants with milk from the breast, or with animal food, I must add, that as *mixtures* of foods often lay the foundations of dissolution among *adults*, it must needs do the same with tender *infants*, and frequently occasion immediate death. And though *necessity* may sometimes plead for artificial nutriment when children *suck*, or for breast *milk* when fed by hand, yet if we could confine them to *one* kind of nutriment, and carefully chuse the *proper species* of such *kind*, especially in the first weeks of life, numbers would be preserved who now fall victims. The necessity arising from our departing from *nature*, joined to inattention to the quantities and qualities of food, given to infants, must destroy them by thousands.

The *quality* of womens milk also, under particular circumstances, destroys as certainly as *arsenic*, therefore care should be taken, by *experienced*

perienced matrons, to taste and examine the milk of strange nurses.

And as to *pap*, a monosyllable of great *import*, but not enough regarded; upon examination I find as great difference in the materials, the mixing, the time of boiling, and manner of feeding children, as there can be in any nutriment prepared by the various kinds of cookery, which luxury has introduced among grown persons. There is not a falser, or more *vulgar* notion, than that every nurse *understands* making of *pap:* if we consider upon what *tender* strings the life of an infant depends, may not *millions* perish for want of method in this *instance*, though few *statesmen*, *philosophers*, or *divines*, ever lose a single thought about it. I am informed of an intelligent good woman, who has brought up thirty, out of thirty six children, *by hand*, who lived to manhood. And you hear of others who buried one hundred and sixty three, out of one hundred and seventy four, within the age of *two months*. Do you imagine the nurses were equally skilled in making *pap?* Were they equally skilled

in

in the great *science* of saving lives? There is now a very able gentleman of the faculty, who is *thinking* of the art of nursing; and *another*, of the extraordinary causes of mortality: we may soon see what *new* lights they will throw on their subjects. We may expect assistance from them, and if they do not shew too much reverence for the *apothecary's shop*, have great reason to *thank* them for their *labors*.

It is a clear point to me, that certain *rules* ought to be prescribed, and, as far as they can be observed, with regard to the qualities of different kinds of bread, biscuit, milk or water, such rules should be *established*, especially for the government of *nurses* to whom *foundlings* are intrusted, that *nothing* be wanting to preserve their lives. *Farewel.*

LET-

LETTER XIV.

To the same.

MADAM;

THOUGH *tea* and *gin* have spread their baneful influence over this island, and his majesty's other dominions, yet you may be well assured, that the governors of the foundling-hospital will exert their utmost skill and vigilance, to prevent the children under their care from being poisoned, or enervated by one or the other. This, however, is not the case of *workhouses*: it is well known, to the shame of those who are charged with the care of them, that *gin* has been too often permitted to enter their gates; and the debauched appetites of the people who inhabit these houses, has been urged as a reason for it.

Desperate diseases require *desperate* remedies; if laws are rigidly executed against mur-

murderers in the highway, thoſe who provide a draught of gin, which we ſee is *murderous*, ought not to be *countenanced.* I am now informed, that in certain hoſpitals, where the number of the *ſick* uſed to be about 5600 in 14 years,

From 1704, to 1718, they increaſed to 8189.
From 1718, to 1734, ſtill augmented to 12710.
And from 1734, to 1749, *multiplied* to 38147.

What a dreadful *ſpectre* does this exhibit! Nor muſt we wonder when ſatisfactory evidence was given before the great council of the nation, that near eight millions of gallons of diſtilled ſpirits, at the ſtandard it is commonly reduced to for drinking, was actually conſumed annually in drams! The ſhocking difference in the numbers of the *ſick*, and we may preſume of the *dead* alſo, was ſuppoſed to keep pace with *gin:* and the moſt ingenious and unprejudiced phyſicians aſcribed it to this cauſe. What is to be done under theſe melancholly circumſtances? Shall we ſtill countenance the *diſtillery*, for the ſake of the *revenue*; out of ten-

tenderneſs to the *few* who will ſuffer by its being aboliſhed; for fear of the madneſs of the people; or that foreigners will run it in upon us? There can be no *evil* ſo great as that we now ſuffer, except the making the ſame conſumption, and paying for it to foreigners in *money*, which I hope never will be the caſe.

As to the *revenue*, it certainly may be replaced by taxes upon the *neceſſaries* of life, even upon the *bread we eat*, or in other words, upon the *land*, which is the great ſource of ſupply to the *public*, and to *individuals*. Nor can I perſwade myſelf, but that the people may be *weaned* from the habit of poiſoning themſelves. The difficulty of *ſmugling* a bulky *liquid*, joined to the ſeverity which *ought* to be exerciſed towards ſmuglers, whoſe *illegal* commerce is of ſo *infernal* a nature, muſt, in time, produce the effect deſired. Spirituous liquors being aboliſhed, inſtead of having the moſt undiſciplined and abandoned poor, we might ſoon boaſt a race of men, temperate, religious, and induſtrious, even to a *proverb*. We ſhould ſoon ſee the *ponderous* burthen of the *poors-rate*

decreaſe,

decreaſe, and the *beauty* and *ſtrength* of the land rejuvinate. Schools, workhouſes and hoſpitals, might then be ſufficient to clear our ſtreets of diſtreſs and miſery, which never will be the caſe whilſt the love of poiſon prevails, and the means of ruin, is ſold in above one thouſand houſes in the *city* of *London*, in two thouſand two hundred in *Weſtminſter*, and one thouſand nine hundred and thirty in *Holborn* and St. *Giles*'s.

But if other uſes ſtill demanded *liquid fire*, I would really propoſe, that it ſhould be ſold only in quart bottles, ſealed up with the king's ſeal, with a very high duty, and none ſold without being mixed with a *ſtrong emetic*.

Many become objects of charity by their *intemperance*, and this excludes others who are ſuch by the unavoidable accidents of life; or who cannot by any means ſupport themſelves. Hence it appears, that the introducing *new habits* of life, is the moſt ſubſtantial charity: and that the *regulation* of charity-ſchools, hoſpitals and workhouſes, not the *augmentation* of their number, can make them anſwer the wiſe

ends for which they were inſtituted. We ought, however, to provide a proper place for the reception of beggars, and then ſubject thoſe to be whipped at the cart's tail, who are ſeen begging in the ſtreets; and thoſe to be fined forty ſhillings, according to the law I have already quoted, who relieved them. The children of beggars ſhould be alſo taken from them, and bred up to labor, as children of the public. Thus the *diſtreſſed* might be relieved, at a ſixth part of the preſent expence; the idle be compelled to *work*, or *ſtarve*; and the *mad* be ſent to Bedlam. We ſhould not ſee human nature diſgraced by the aged, the maimed, the ſickly, and young children, begging their bread, nor would compaſſion be abuſed by thoſe who have reduced it to an *art* to catch the unwary. Nothing is wanting but common ſenſe, and *honeſty* in the execution of *laws*.

To prevent ſuch abuſe in the *ſtreets*, ſeems more practicable than to aboliſh *bad habits within doors*, where *greater* numbers periſh. We ſee in many familiar inſtances, the fatal

effects

effects of example. The careless spending of time among *servants*, who are charged with the care of infants, is often fatal: the nurse frequently destroys the child! the poor infant being left neglected, expires whilst she is sipping her tea! This may appear to you as *rank prejudice*, or *jest*; but I am assured, from the most *indubitable* evidence, that many very extraordinary cases of this kind, have *really* happened among those whose *duty* does not permit of such kind of habits.

It is partly from such causes, that nurses of the children of the *public* often *forget* themselves, and become *impatient* when infants cry: the next step to this, is using extraordinary *means* to quiet them. I have already mentioned the term *killing nurse*, as known in some workhouses: *Venice treacle*, *poppey water*, and *Godfrey's cordial*, have been the *kind* instruments of lulling the child to his *everlasting* rest. If these *pious* women could send up an ejaculation when the child expired, all was *well*, and no questions *asked*

by their *ſuperiors.* An ingenious friend of mine informs me, that this has been ſo often the caſe, in ſome workhouſes, that *Venice* treacle has acquired the appellation of *the Lord have mercy upon me,* in alluſion to the nurſes *hackneyed* expreſſion of *pretended* grief when infants expire! *Farewel.*

PART

PART III.

Calculation of expence in tea. Tea with respect to the export of gold and silver. Excuses the East-India company. Advantages and disadvantages of tea. A general view of tea. Balance of trade with France.

LETTER XV.

To the same.

MADAM,

AFTER pointing out *some* of the evils we suffer by an *improper* diet, by bad *habits* of life, with *customs* and *fashions* which tend directly to injure our common happiness and prosperity, let us examine

more minutely the *grand* object of my present lucubration. In order to do this in the manner most striking, in a *political* and *prudential* view, let us consider the many weighty and *necessary* expences which attend life, according to the plan in fashion: if we add what is spent in *ornaments*, *parade*, *curiosities*, in travelling abroad and at home; in diversions, many of which require no trifling sums; and lastly, by every thing increasing in price, we may conclude, that near one shilling out of twenty is too much to bestow on *tea*. My speculation takes in the *whole*, in a national view, and considers what mischiefs it creates in general: but I have heard *private persons*, in very easy circumstances, complain that tea is really become a burthensome article to them, and that they wish to throw it off their shoulders, if they knew how to do it without suffering greater inconveniences.

I compute that we consume in *Great Britain* only, five millions of pounds weight of tea, of which I reckon two millions to be run in upon us. If you make a *less* quantity run in

upon

upon us, and a *greater* imported, with regard to the preſent calculation of the expence of individuals, the caſe is near the ſame.

Suppoſe then five *millions*; the loweſt price we may compute is two ſhillings and ſix pence, and the higheſt, twenty ſhillings the pound. The greateſt part of what is legally imported, coſt to individuals four to ten ſhillings, let us fix the whole at five ſhillings, and it amounts to — — —£. 1,250,000

We have of late years imported between 72,000 and 85,000 hogſheads of ſugar annually, out of which 25,000 hogſheads are ſuppoſed to be expended with tea; theſe, at 12 hundred weight each, make 33,600,000 pounds weight; allowing a quarter part for what is loſt in refining part of this quantity, (obſerving that moſt of the common people drink raw brown ſugar) it is reduced to 25,200,000 pounds, (being about five pounds of ſugar to one of tea) of which three fourths being computed at four pence, and one fourth at eight pence, it makes —— £. 525,000

This will be conſidered as a trifling calcu-

lation to thoſe who *ſee* and *feel* how much greater an expence of ſugar is made in families of diſtinction on account of tea; but it is intended to be rather under, than above the mark.

I will ſuppoſe only one million of ſervants, mechanics, and laboring people, who loſe time by drinking tea. I will calculate only 280 days in the year, and one hour in twelve loſt in ſuch days. I will ſet their labor ſo low as ſix pence a day, then *tea* coſts the nation, in this inſtance only, the ſum of £. 583,333

I paſs over the article of time of fine ladies, and fine gentlemen, as *invaluable*. If out of *ſeven millions* of people in *Great-Britain*, we have *two millions* of tea-drinkers, at ſix in a family, theſe make 333,333 families, their tea equipages can hardly coſt leſs than five ſhillings, is — — — £. 83,333

To this we muſt add the expence of tea-kettles and coals, &c. conſidering what numbers make fires, at ſome ſeaſons of the year, early or late, merely on account of their *tea*; the

the annual charge muſt be at leaſt fifteen ſhillings each, is — — £. 249,999

Upon this calculation the amount, or *annual expence* is — — £. 2,691,665

I ſay nothing of *Ireland*, which may be near a ſixth part as much more.

Thus do we ſupport a *vaſt* annual expence, in which neither *food* nor *raiment* is concerned; an expence on the people, on whom the ſtate depends for their ability to conſume the neceſſaries of life, and to promote *induſtry*, by which thoſe neceſſaries are provided, beſides the great inconveniences we ſuffer in a national light, by draining off our gold and ſilver, which I ſhall mention in its place.

If this article of 583,333 *l.* as a charge for labor, is ſubject to objection, as it is only a *loſs* of what would be *gained*; and if ſuch article will not ſtand for the *whole*, yet it muſt be calculated upon for the greateſt part: that it is a *loſs*, no one can diſpute. If leſs than a million of *working* people drink tea, many of them have *five* times as high wages as I have calculated upon, and are idle much longer than

than one hour in *twelve*. From the very nature of the tea apparatus, the filling it out, and the ſipping it, a much longer time is required than ſimple drinking, to allay thirſt: beſides, that it occaſions lazineſs, and fruitleſs diſcourſe. Among the *higher* ranks of the people *time*, *fire*, and *tea equipages*, as well as *ſugar*, might be the ſame were our own herbs drank; but the *poor* are firſt to be conſidered, for if the *rich* ſtill perſiſt in the faſhion of ſipping, yet the evil would be greatly diminiſhed, if the poor were diſcountenanced in the uſe of this leaf.

The ordinary computation among the poor is a halfpenny a time for tea, and as much for ſugar. Suppoſe it to be drank only *once* a day, by one million two hundred thouſand *females*, out of three millions; and eight hundred thouſand *males*, out of four millions; the expence then would be annually 3,041,666 *l.* excluſive of the *fire*, equipages, and loſs of time, which ſtill *exceeds* the calculation above-mentioned. If

I miſ-

I mistake as to the number of tea-drinkers, consider how many drink tea twice or *thrice a day*; and how many drink it at a much higher charge! In every shape you will find the expence prodigious! *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XVI.

To the same.

MADAM,

YOU are not yet informed of what consequence you are to the state, nor how much you can *serve* or *injure* it. The subject of this letter is *mercantile* and *political*, sometimes treated as a mystery, and sometimes as too plain to be intitled to any *attention at all.*

I apprehend it is with a *nation*, as in *common* life: you can as easily comprehend that nothing remains with us but the balance of our trade with other nations, as that the real pro-

produce of your eſtate is only that which remains to you of the rents, after all neceſſary buildings and repairs are paid for.

You are now to ſuppoſe that this nation, and its colonies, export to the value of *twenty* millions of their natural produce, and import of the produce of other countries, in articles of conſumption, about as much more: and that we *gain* upon the twenty millions exported, *five* per cent. which is *one* million. This we will call a balance. Being carriers of our own goods, I will ſuppoſe that we receive the advantage of four hundred thouſand pounds more: theſe ſums are paid us in gold and ſilver, which is the only riches, properly ſo denominated, that we receive, notwithſtanding we ſee the good effects of trade at every table, in every houſe, and on every one's back.

How extenſive the power of gold and ſilver is, in all countries that we have any connexion with, is a ſubject of which neither the higheſt nor the loweſt of mankind are ignorant. With all your moderation, you would be ſorry to

want

want money; I dare ſay you would rather go without tea. It would be impoſſible for us to ſupport our preſent ſyſtem of intercourſe with other nations, without having conſiderable ſums of gold and ſilver at command.

You are further to take notice that the balance, juſt mentioned, has centered with *individuals*, and conſequently they are become *rich*; but the *public expences* have, in a great meaſure, drained us of thoſe *riches*, inſomuch that the greateſt part of many years *accumulation of property*, now conſiſts in a debt, due to thoſe individuals, from the *public*. Need I remind you again, that this debt was contracted for the *ſafety of individuals*, and that individuals muſt therefore look to the *ſafety of the public*? If it is from no higher motive than for the ſake of their riches, which conſiſt in the debt that is due to them, ſtill they ought to be very watchful of the public welfare.

According to the preſent eſtabliſhment of things in this nation, the firſt and moſt eſſential article is the preſervation of the public credit; for, by means of this, the ſtate may command

mand every thing it has occasion for, that is saleable, as far as that credit goes. But it is still supposed the public is able to repay whatever it borrows, and that property in paper is convertible into money. You have no reason to doubt that you may safely sell or exchange your gold or silver for a bank-note; but this is in a presumption that you can again sell or exchange the *bank-note* for *gold or silver.* Now you could have very little assurance of doing this, unless we retained amongst us such quantities of these metals as may answer the demands of the *public*, as well as *private* persons.

Let us therefore freely enquire, if we can bear so great an exportation of gold and silver as has been made from hence, for some years past; and whether we are not in danger of being too much *drained?*

It is granted that we are to consider *gold* and *silver* as *commodities*, which are bought and sold, and which the merchant may send abroad with a view to his profit. The *East-India* company, for instance, has exported for

some

some years past, above half a million to *India*, to purchase the manufactures and produce of that country, a great part of which we re-sell to foreigners: there have been years in which we have sold to the amount of 700,000 *l.* in piece-goods only. The freight, and the charges in *India*, run very high; yet by this circulation the company has a profit, by which they are enabled to pay an interest to the proprietors of the stock; and were it not for the charge of carrying on war in *India*, I conclude, though this is a point not generally agreed upon, that the nation is a considerable gainer.

I believe also the balance of the account of gold and silver, as it stands in the *India* trade, is generally against us; yet I question, notwithstanding what has been so often thrown out, whether such balance exceed one hundred, to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and in some extraordinary years I suppose we receive a small balance: but as this is mixed with the general balance, it is difficult to make an exact estimate.

In

In considering the great export of silver, we are to examine whence it can revert to us in sufficient quantities to carry on trade.

From *Portugal* we can receive no gold, which I consider in the same light as silver, in exchange for *India* goods, for these are not permitted to be imported there.

Spain, however, takes off large quantities, for which the returns must be considered as included in the general balance of our trade, just mentioned; for in such a view as this, no *distinction* can be made.

Africa sends us home some gold.

America, independent of our balance directly with *Spain*, returns us some silver for these *India* goods; but still this also must be considered as part of our *general balance*.

Germany pays us for the *India* goods she takes, chiefly in linens; and *France* in tea, brandy, and such like.

We have no silver of our *own*, but what is extracted from *lead*, which at the most can hardly exceed the value of *forty* or *fifty* thousand pounds a year.

The

The vaſt export which we make of gold and ſilver to *India*, gives us an aſcendency in the oriental trade over all other nations who are engaged in it: and if it were to *Eaſt-India* alone, I apprehend the draught of gold and ſilver might not impoveriſh us. But the ſubject of our preſent enquiry relates to the ſum of above *two hundred thouſand pounds* ſent annually to *China*, near 150,000 *l.* of which, I humbly conceive, is laid out in tea, being about one ſhilling a pound, charges there included, and good and bad teas together, on *three millions* of pounds weight. It is true we export *cloth*, *lead*, and other commodities, to that country, and bring from thence, in return, *raw* ſilk, *ſilken* and *cotton manufactures*, and *porcelain:* but if the queſtion was fairly anſwered, I apprehend it would be acknowledged, that near the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, in ſilver, is really and truly laid out for tea bought in *China*.

If to this we add *two millions* of pounds weight of tea, paid for, at only twenty pence a pound, to *France*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, *Den-*

mark, and *Prussia*, it amounts to 166,666 *l.* exclusive of what *Ireland* and *America* take off. All this we must reckon as paid for, either in *gold* or *silver*. Thus we may calculate, that our *whole* export for this pernicious article, is near 300,000 *l.* We who talk so familiarly of *millions*, may imagine this to be a *trifling sum*; but those *millions* do not all consist in substantial gold and silver, and 300,000 *l.* is a very large part of our annual balance.

I am aware that many will tell you, this cannot be true. The loss of *health*, the loss of *time*, the injury of *morals*, are not very sensibly felt by some, who are alarmed when you talk of the *loss of money*. And as this must be deemed a *loss*, so far as money is exported for *tea*, so far the advocates for *our traffic in tea*, would not have it thought, that any thing near the sum of 300,000 *l.* goes out of the kingdom in gold, or silver, for this drug: but so it appears to me, and if it can be *proved* to be a less sum, then *one*, and *one* only of my arguments, is *weakened*, but not *destroyed*.

We

We are to consider also, that we have several branches of foreign commerce, which require great quantities of gold and silver: *Russia* and *Sweden*, in particular, take off at least 400,000 *l.* but these countries furnish us with iron and naval stores, on which agriculture and commerce depend; and therefore our gold and silver are exchanged to our advantage: for it must be observed, that the *use* of *such* returns as these produce effects, to all intents and purposes, the very reverse of what we experience from the *use of tea*, which I am now endevoring to discountenance.

The gold and silver we spend in travelling in *France* and *Italy*, is also no mean object; I am persuaded it is not less than 150,000 *l.* An eminent banker in *Paris* assured me, three years since, that in *France* only it was more than twice this sum. I apprehend the different accounts one hears on this subject, arise chiefly from the sums remitted to *France* for the smugling trade, as well as for the *excellent purposes* of laying it out in *French clothes*, and *French funds*. However precarious the last

may be, ſome are tempted to go into them. We alſo conſume at home no ſmall quantity of gold and ſilver in *clothes*.

As to *utenſils* of all ſorts, I believe we are now poſſeſſed of twelve, ſome ſay ſixteen millions value in plate: it is a very happy circumſtance if we are ſo; for ſuppoſing no traffic is obſtructed for want of money to carry it on, the greater quantity of plate we poſſeſs, though it may lay dead for ages, it is plain the greater is our reſource upon an emergency.

We are farther to conſider, that excluſive of the ordinary circulation of commercial negotiations, this nation has ſometimes occaſion to ſend abroad two or three hundred thouſand pounds annually for affairs of war, and the ſupport of the ſtate. If we judge from what has paſt for ſome time, it ſeems as if we muſt ſhare our profits, in a certain degree, and that providence does not intend we ſhall poſſeſs all we acquire, though we ought to be much more tenacious of it than we have been. The fact is, that it is not *ten* years ſince we

had

had occaſion to lay out millions on account of wars on the continent, far beyond what the ſpoils of the enemy would anſwer.

And what ſhall we ſay of the 600,000 *l.* to be accounted for annually to foreigners, for intereſt of money? I ſay *accounted* for; it cannot be all *paid* in gold and ſilver, but ſurely *part* of it is ſo paid: and as we may conſider ourſelves, in a general view, as factors to principals, ſo far as we are poſſeſſed of the money of foreigners, we muſt *pay* to them part of our *annual balance* gained by trade. Though ſuch intereſt may be partly laid out in *principal*, and ſerve to *augment our debt* to foreigners: or if the greateſt part of it ſhould be paid in the natural products of this iſland, or in thoſe of our *moſt valuable poſſeſſions in America*, ſtill this makes nothing *againſt* the force of my general argument, but rather makes much for it.

If it can be made appear, that theſe various calls have drained us, and that we have not gold and ſilver ſufficient to continue, under our preſent circumſtances, to anſwer all neceſ-

ſary demands, nor to provide for the accidents and important events to which every *great* ſtate is ſubject; what figure ſhall we make, ſhould we be diſtreſſed for theſe metals? We may always keep a ſufficient quantity of them, if we pleaſe, and ſo far from *checking* trade by this means, we may promote, and even encourage all uſeful branches of commerce.

I have accounted for the exportation and expence of about 1,300,000 *l.* near the amount of the ſuppoſed importation, without reckoning any coin or bullion ſent out for intereſt of money; without eſtimating the extraordinary ſums which may become neceſſary for war, and the affairs of the ſtate; nor yet the gold and ſilver which we conſume in apparel; conſequently, inſtead of laying up 2 or 300,000 *l.* annually, as I think we ought to do, is there not reaſon to apprehend we are now ſinking our *old ſtock?* and may we not too late repent our *learned reaſonings* upon this ſubject, and the indifference towards the object in queſtion, ariſing from ſuch reaſonings?

It

It is acknowledged, that gold and ſilver are but commodities. "If," ſay they, "you "were poſſeſſed of all the gold and ſilver you "have imported for ages paſt, the value of it "would be ſo much the leſs: inſtead of five "ſhillings and ſix pence for an ounce of ſilver, "it might not be worth three ſhillings". I am not ſure of that; for let the quantity be ever ſo large, the value in one country will bear a proportion to the value in another. But what is this to the purpoſe? Do *gold* and *ſilver* differ eſſentially from all *other commodities?* The returns of them, upon the general balance, are ſuppoſed to determine the national profit or loſs with reſpect to ſuch balance: and if ſo, may they not be conſidered as the criterion of commercial policy? And is not ſtate policy connected with commercial policy, in this country? We know that for the ends of life, *iron* is far ſuperior to *ſilver* or *gold*; and yet for one pound of gold we can obtain five hundred pounds of iron; and what is more, gold is always accepted.

We may command sums in gold and silver advanced on the credit of our merchants, or for goods sent abroad, even before they are sold; but not for very large sums, nor for any great length of time. We may also sell gold and silver upon commission, for the account of *merchants*, or *princes*; but nothing more will remain with us, than the difference between the value of *our commodities consumed abroad*, and the value of our consumption of *foreign produce at home*, except the amount of such *commission*. If we imported from countries not our own, a greater value in merchandize than we export to such countries, we should say, "we are in a fair way to be undone." We should ask ourselves, "in what "are we to pay the difference"? And what can we receive of such foreign nations, more than the difference, of what we import less in value from them, than we export to them? If we had mines of *gold* and *silver*, as the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* have, the *first* question would be easily answered: but these are not our proper produce; and if we do not

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keep a due proportion of what gold and ſilver we receive, we muſt in the iſſue ſuffer for the want of them.

All human affairs are mutable: as the nations with whom we trade grow more enlightened, they improve their natural advantages: and as in the courſe of time, they will probably require ſo much the leſs of our produce, we ſhall command ſo much the leſs of theirs, but particularly of their gold and ſilver, which they make the ſtandard, or meaſure of the value of all other commodities, and of all the ſervices they will, or can, do for us. As far as the nature of their circumſtances admits, we ſee every ſtate endevors to eſtabliſh manufactures, as an additional weight in their commercial ſcale. We abound in *manufactures*, but we ought nevertheleſs to add as great a weight in gold and ſilver, as is conſiſtent with the free circulation of profitable branches of foreign commerce. Under this denomination of profitable, I include all trades that are neceſſary, ſuch as the *Ruſſian*, *Swediſh*, *&c.* juſt mentioned, though the balances

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of these trades are considerably against us, so far as we pay them in *gold* and *silver*.

Refined reasoners often advance maxims which experience will not support. I have heard ingenious men talk to this effect: "Supposing "our gold and silver were annihilated in one "night; that the earth, from whose bowels "they were taken, should swallow them up "again; or that we parted with them all at "once to the *Chinese* for tea; what would be "the consequence? The price of labor, and "all the produce of labor, would then fall; "and in proportion to our skill, the extent of "our industry, and the quantity of our manu-"factures, all our riches would again revert "to us".

Does this doctrine agree with *experience*? Are not the *prices* of things at present much beyond the proportion of the *real present currency*? Is not such an opinion therefore of a dangerous tendency! *There is a measure in all things:* because we find it useful to traffic in gold and silver, shall we forget the important uses of them in peace or war, and all the advantages

vantages which attend them in a national light? How often are nations in real diſtreſs for theſe metals? And what may happen to us, if we have not ſupplies of them! But if it could be proved in theory, ſhould we ſhort-ſighted mortals truſt to ſuch theory? How many things are mathematically demonſtrable, which cannot be reduced to practice. *Archimedes* offered to move the *earth*, but he required ſuch a place to ſet his feet upon, as can never be diſcovered. Would a wiſe politician look with indifference on any traffic or conſumption, which has a tendency to try the experiment, whether a people may, without danger, drain off all their gold and ſilver? No nation can have ſuch univerſal commerce as this enjoys, if they prohibit the exportation of gold and ſilver in all caſes; but ſhall we therefore check the export in no caſe? Or ſhall we endevor to hide from ourſelves what is paid away to *France*, or exported for the article of tea?

You may eaſily perceive, what a vaſt difference there is between a raw commodity, which gives employment to our manufacturers,

and

and afterwards draws gold and silver, or even good manufacturers, from other countries; and a dead article which we consume ourselves, the greatest part, if not the whole of such dead article, being purchased in exchange for gold and silver.

You may also, without the least difficulty, conceive how gold and silver differ from all other commodities, by observing that there is nothing serviceable to life, in any corner of the globe, which we cannot purchase with them. With *gold* and *silver* we can engage *armies*, and maintain *fleets* to fight our battles, and save our country: but *without* them we cannot even carry on a defensive war in our own country. It would be a difficult task to persuade a soldier, native or foreigner, to accept a bit of *tin* or *lead* in the place of *gold* or *silver*.

Can we support an *extensive credit*, without *gold* or *silver*? If there is not a quantity of these to bear a due proportion to the *riches*; or, to express myself more properly, to the *property*, for which the public is engaged, the

the paper which now answers all the purposes of gold and silver, may very easily cease to have any value at all.

The stress of my argument is laid upon the *consumption of tea*, as an article which *drains* us, most *unprofitably*, of our gold and silver. If it is urged, that we have gone on well for a great number of years, and therefore there can be no necessity to trouble ourselves about a *change*: I answer, that we ought to change, because the course of things are changed. Commercial wars, in time of nominal peace, were things unknown to us: but our wars in *East-India* have drained us of great quantities of gold and silver, intirely independent of our trade.

A further reason is, that 'till about the year 1733, we accumulated great quantities of gold by importation from *China*, not less than 100,000 *l.* to 200,000 *l.* annually. It is true, this *gold* was purchased with *silver*; but as the profits were not less than forty to sixty per cent. our stock was considerably augmented every year by this commerce. Such profits

profits could not last long: but you will be glad to know how this trade came to cease intirely. Though the *Chinese* prohibit the extract of their gold, they were glad to connive at exchanging it for silver, with those who would trust them to carry the silver up into their country. But whether it is that their gold mines fail, or the gold risen in price, or that the *Chinese* merchants cannot be safely trusted with large sums; or that our *East-India* company do not think proper to trade in this article themselves, nor yet to indulge their servants in it; but very little or no gold has, for a long time past, been imported from *China*.

We have also sent some gold occasionally to the coast of *Coromandel*, to be coined into *Padogas*; whereas formerly it came all from *China* directly.

It may be observed further, that the *Asiatics*, as well as *European* nations, are become more tenacious of these metals than they were in times past.

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We alſo conſume more gold in the embelliſhments of houſes, equipages, and clothes, than formerly.

I am not ſure it can be proved, yet, I apprehend, that our extenſive paper-credit, has likewiſe, in ſome inſtances, ſubſtituted *paper* in the place of *gold* and *ſilver*, ſo as to give our coin and bullion a more free egreſs; and if this is really the caſe, it is a further reaſon to decline the uſe of tea.

Theſe circumſtances make a very material difference: they call on us to be watchful, and not to ſquander away our riches for *tea*. In other words, they call on us to abandon the *uſe* of tea, as the only means to obtain this end.

I have heard it computed, that within theſe ſixty years paſt, we have coined about *fifty millions* of gold and ſilver; how many of theſe remain with us, I will leave to the more curious to enquire. Thank God we have gold coin; but as to ſilver coin, it is difficult to obtain change for a ſingle guinea. One reaſon of this is, that we have under-rated ſilver in coinage,

coinage, and therefore it is sent out of the country; whilst in *France*, the greatest part of their money is silver, which is more equally rated than ours, and therefore it remains: but it does not follow that their gold leaves them; they keep both. They receive most silver for their balance with *Spain*, as we receive most gold for our balance with *Portugal*. I have heard that *France* converts almost all the foreign coin she receives, into her own specie: whether this be true or not, it is certain that *some* of our money finds its way home again, and one sees a few of our guineas in *Paris*. I am afraid but little of the gold of *Portugal*, which *France* gets of us, ever reverts to us.

If by money we mean gold and silver coin; and if this, as well as good soldiers, is the sinews of war: and if war is hanging over our heads; by squandering our riches like prodigals, do we not expose ourselves to the danger of feeding on *husk*; or what is worse, of wearing a *Gallic* yoke?

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Preserving our gold and silver in the sense I consider it, is preserving our *wealth*; it is accumulating riches, not losing opportunities of profit; and, lastly, it is preserving respect among the nations. If we were more virtuous, and more valiant in poverty than in riches, we might rise the higher in reputation; but we do not desire reputation on such terms. On the contrary, *gain* is the great object of our pursuit; and trade being the most effectual means to obtain this end, we weigh almost every thing in the commercial scale. We sometimes think of the advantages of trade, in a direct view, more than is consistent with the *remoter* issues of things, even with regard to the preservation of our commercial interests.

But to drop so nice an enquiry, let us still pursue the consideration, how best to discountenance so destructive, so ruinous a branch of trade as this of tea. I am sensible it is difficult to get at the exact truth; I do not pretend to calculate exactly, either the quantity of the tea which is run in upon us; or the whole amount of the gold and silver of which we are

drained; I believe, *upon the whole*, I am under the mark, if not in both, in one circumſtance. Some who know the *truth* better, may be intereſted to conceal it; and others, who conſider it only as a venial evil, may flatter this national vice: but if you really mean to give any proof of love for your country, you muſt not indulge yourſelf any longer in it. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XVII.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

I HAVE heard you ſay, that you think reſpectfully of merchants: you know of what importance they are to the ſtate: even under arbitrary governments they are countenanced, and frequently enjoy immunities ſuperior to other ſubjects, whoſe profeſſions are of leſs utility to the commonwealth. In a free country

country, indeed, the people trade with one common and equal liberty, yet it has been ſometimes thought neceſſary to grant privileges to a certain number of traders, in excluſion of all other merchants. Our *Eaſt-India* company act only as directors or managers, for the proprietors: any one may become a proprietor of the trading ſtock, and ſtand to the profits or loſs in it, according as the price of the ſtock varies.

Many, however, will have this trade to be no other than a *monopoly*, which they ſay is neither conſiſtent with *liberty*, nor *commercial policy*.

Contrary to this opinion, I apprehend the *Eaſt-India* trade to be of the greateſt importance to this nation. So long as foreigners conſume all, or much the greateſt part of what we bring home, the *Eaſt-India* company ought to be conſidered by far the moſt reſpectable, and moſt uſeful *trading company* in the nation: and moreover, I think this trade cannot be carried on ſo advantageouſly as by a *company*. At the ſame time it ſeems as if ſome new re-

gulations are neceſſary, though it is not eaſy to ſay what thoſe regulations ought to be.

It is a clear point, however, that the *Eaſt-India* company, as merchants, purſue a traffic in tea, becauſe they find it profitable; and for the ſame reaſon, as *directors*, they act the fair part for the proprietors. They may not think themſelves obliged to be arithmetical politicians, nor to enter upon the conſideration of what the nation gains or loſes: this taſk, however, belongs to men of leiſure and curioſity, uninfluenced by *prejudice*, unbiaſſed by *private* intereſt.

No body can pretend that the importation of tea, be it for the conſumption of beggars or lords, is of the ſame nature as ſelling *gunpowder* to an *enemy* the day before a battle. But when we conſider that a nation may be a great gainer by *one* trade, and loſe by *another*, it ſeems neceſſary for commercial politicians, to make occaſional enquiries into the ſtate of particular branches of commerce, not wantonly to propoſe alterations, but to new model, or diſcourage ſuch as can be proved to be injurious.

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And of this I am very confident; if any trade can have a tendency to create a ſickneſs in the body politic, or actually to bring on a lingering conſumption: if there is ſuch a thing in nature, as an article of commerce ruinous to a nation, tea, I apprehend, is one of thoſe articles.

Notwithſtanding all this, it is equally apparent, if we will drink tea, and make ſo vaſt a conſumption of it, we ought not to complain of the *Eaſt-India* company. If it is profitable to them, no body can doubt that it is a leſs evil to the nation, to pay nine-pence, or a ſhilling a pound to the *Chineſe*, and enjoy all the profit ariſing from the *navigation*, than to employ *French* or *Engliſh* ſmuggling-veſſels, to bring over tea, for which we pay from eighteen-pence to three ſhillings to the *French*, *Dutch*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Pruſſians*.

You have heard, though perhaps you have not regarded it, that the wrought ſilks, and other manufactures of *China*, are forbidden by one of our laws to be worn in this iſland, and a *good law* it is; yet I apprehend it would be

a leſs evil, if the company was permitted to purchaſe theſe, for our own uſe, provided we manufactured the raw ſilk of *China* for the uſe of other countries, and ſold it to foreigners for money, or in exchange of uſeful commodities, than thus to conſume our ſtrength in tea, by which we can poſſibly make no profit, except upon ourſelves, whilſt it ſucks up our very blood; and, by exhauſting our treaſure, weakens the nerves of the ſtate.

Though I think this is ſtrictly true, we muſt not complain of the *Eaſt-India* directors. What I ſay againſt tea, has not the leaſt tincture of prejudice againſt *them*. Perhaps many of them think as I do: but I am ſure ſeveral of them are men of great ſkill and integrity. If the love of my country leads me into a miſtake in this ſpeculation againſt tea, I ſhall be glad to be ſet right; I ſhall rejoice to ſee the *company* ſet in the faireſt point of view, as the inſtruments of great good to their country, without the leaſt mixture of evil. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

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LETTER XVIII.

To the same.

MADAM,

YOU have now seen, according to the best lights I can give you, that tea can never *enrich* this country; and it is equally certain, that many a private man, who has acquired a good fortune by one trade, has lost it again by another: so whilst we, as a nation extend, increase, or only support our commerce, we ought to take some pains to distinguish what is profitable to us, and what is hurtful, that we may not, by a multiplicity of affairs, seem to be increasing our riches by the very means that really diminish them. A timorous patient does not suffer an incision to be made, but covers over his wounds as if they were healed; let *us* strive to prevent a mortification in the body politic.

As I take no *advantages* but ſuch as are founded in truth, I will now tell you, as far as my knowledge goes, all that may be ſaid in favor of tea. In a national light, the *tea-trade* employs five or ſix hundred ſeamen, and, conſequently, many other induſtrious ſubjects to ſupport them, together with ſix ſhips, which we annually ſend to *Canton*, and I ſuppoſe about this number of ſhips have been loaded entirely with this commodity. It alſo brings in a revenue of about three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds annually; which, as a tax on luxury, may be conſidered of great utility to the ſtate. It alſo pleaſes many palates, who, being uſed to it, think it a moſt charming and delightful beverage. Theſe are *advantages* it muſt be confeſſed; but I apprehend it can be eaſily proved, that if the cuſtom of drinking tea was aboliſhed, we ſhould be in a capacity to pay, for the ſervice of the ſtate, in a direct view, at leaſt *twice* as much; employ *twice* as many ſeamen; preſerve *five* times as many lives; and pleaſe our palates much more.

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In all ſpeculations of this kind, we ought to conſider by what means we can preſerve the *uſeful* part of a branch of commerce, and aboliſh that which is apparently *ruinous*. One ſeventy gun ſhip of war, would breed as many ſeamen as the whole *China* trade; and as theſe need not be always kept in ſervice, the charge might be brought within twelve or fifteen pounds a man, if they were exerciſed only three months in the year; therefore in lieu of 3 or 400,000 *l.* expence, and dead loſs to the nation, we might command as great a number of ſeamen for the charge of 8000 *l.* if not for a ſmaller ſum. It would alſo be a much leſs burden to the nation, to double-man our *Eaſt-India* ſhips, eſpecially at the approach of war, than to bring home tea from *China*, merely with a view to breed ſeamen. In order to ſupport the ſtate in health and vigor, we had likewiſe better ſubmit to be taxed for the liberty of drinking *cold water*, than to ſend ſilver to *China*, to purchaſe ſuch a dead article of conſumption as tea, which is injurious in ſo many lights.

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In our preſent circumſtances we ought to conſider, in the firſt place, how to promote *parſimony*, increaſe our *numbers*, and quicken uſeful *induſtry*. If we mean to be rich and powerful, we muſt abſolutely *aboliſh* ſuch *trades* as this in queſtion, or we ſhall find, 'ere long, it will *aboliſh us*.

It is the opinion of ſome politicians, that if the *duty* on tea were taken off, it would prevent the *ſmuggling* of this commodity upon us. They allege that the *Eaſt-India* company would be enabled to ſell it ſo much the cheaper: but it admits of a diſpute, whilſt this raging appetite for tea continues, if there was no more imported than at preſent, if the price would not be run up in favor of the company. The *merchant*, or *retailer*, would alſo run it up, and this would again *encourage ſmuggling*. And if the company was to import *double* the preſent quantity, without the ſtate receiving any benefit from it, if it is a pernicious branch of commerce, and injurious to health as it now ſtands, it would then be doubly ſo, at leaſt with regard to our own import. But this is

not

not all: it ſeems to be a leſs difficult enterprize to diſcontinue the *uſe* of tea, than to give up the revenue, *whilſt we uſe it*. At the ſame time I am perſwaded, that the *governing* part of this country, would rejoice to ſee this revenue *abſorbed*, if the article from whence it aroſe was no longer in *faſhion*; but whilſt it continues in ſuch eſteem, miniſters will have a ſtronger conviction of the *utility* of the tax, than of the uncertain advantages of giving it up with a view to prevent ſmuggling, which poſſibly may not anſwer the purpoſe. It is an object of vaſt conſequence to us, in every light, and I apprehend no duty will be taken off till a *proper tax* is eſtabliſhed to ſupply the place of this part of the national revenue: and 'till the *conſumption* can in ſome degree be limited, there is *danger* alſo in ſuch a meaſure.

If upon the faireſt face of the argument, the advantages and diſadvantages of drinking tea being ſet againſt each other, it is injurious to the community, ſhall we continue the uſe of it *againſt conviction?* We muſt grant that it is ſometimes dangerous to check *induſtry*, though

it

it be exercised to support luxury; but even considering things in this light, let us only resolve to *change* the *object*: if the money we lay out and circulate in tea, was employed in flax, raw silk, and such like, it would keep many more hands in motion to manufacture them; it would give employment to a greater number of people; and would not such employment be greatly more advantageous to us than tea? The *ship-builder* and the *seaman* would be employed; and as the grocer buys tea of the *East-India* company to sell to the consumer, the *draper* and *mercer* would buy the *linen* and *silk* so manufactured, of the manufacturer, and sell them to the consumer. And supposing that all these were expended in *superfluous show*, in garments totally unnecessary, would not this be a reasonable gratification, in a political view, compared with the employment of our own people in the *tea-trade*? We should abound in *clothes*, which is one of the essential *necessaries* of life: and if we did not consume all that we manufactured, on a view of the *comparison* now be-

fore

fore us, whatever we might ſell to *foreigners*, would be a clear gain to the nation; whereas tea produces nothing; all is *ſunk*, *buried*, and *annihilated:* we only ſee its effects in *idleneſs*, *expence*, and the *various diſtempers* it occaſions.

If the *queſtion* was how to promote induſtry, moſt *advantageouſly*, in lieu of our tea-trade, ſuppoſing every branch of our commerce to be already fully ſupplied with men and money? If a *quarter* the ſum now ſpent in tea, were laid out annually in plantations, in making public gardens, in paving and widening ſtreets, in making *roads*, in rendering *rivers* navigable, erecting *palaces*, building *bridges*, or neat and convenient *houſes*, where are now only *huts*; *draining* lands, or rendering thoſe which are now *barren* of ſome *uſe*; ſhould we not be gainers, and provide more for health, pleaſure, and long life, compared with the conſequences of the *tea-trade?*

There is no danger whilſt *luxury* reigns, that we ſhall become *indolent*. *Arts* and *ſciences*, *agriculture* and *manufactury*, will keep pace with

with *luxury*. But if we ſpend too faſt, if *we light our candle at both ends*, we muſt be undone in the iſſue. Was tea out of the queſtion, we ſhould ſtill be luxurious enough; and it would remove one great object of extravagance from the *poor*, in whom *luxury* is moſt *dangerous*.

You ſhall ſee preſently what a vaſt expence tea creates to thoſe very individuals, from the *number* and *wealth* of whom, *taxes* muſt be drawn. Were we to conſume herbs of our own growth, we could afford to pay a much greater ſum than the preſent tax on tea amounts to; and it ought to be preſumed, that the ſame deſire of finding *ways* and *means* to ſupport the government, which now prevails ſo apparently, will induce miniſters to do *their* part, if you will do *yours*.

You ſee, *Madam*, what a *difficulty* you have brought us into: there is no remedy leſt, but to abandon tea: it is a *hard leſſon*; but, as in the diſcipline of the paſſions, if an *eye* offends we are to *pluck* it out; ſo in *political* concerns, which are oftentimes connected with

morals,

morals, there are ſome *darling* inclinations which we muſt renounce, or *periſh*. And what an *everlaſting* reproach it will be to the common ſenſe and underſtanding of this nation, that we ſhould ſuffer ſuch evils, for ſo *ſilly*, ſo *ridiculous* a gratification as the drinking tea.

But there is a deluſion in this affair! Some I believe think, and many more talk ſo abſurdly, one would imagine they were not in *earneſt*, or were biaſſed by their prejudices to an extreme degree. I have heard it ſaid, with an air of ſerioufneſs, that our conſumption of tea will enable us to cope with *France*. Perhaps you will be at a loſs to know in what manner: I will tell you. *Tea* requires a great conſumption of *ſugar*; the more ſugar is *conſumed*, the more his majeſty's ſugar colonies are encouraged: and the more ſugar is *brought home*, the more *ſeamen* will be bred, and theſe are our proper bulwarks againſt *France*.

The fallacy of this reaſoning is ſo apparent, that you will hardly think any reaſonable man can maintain it. With regard to the increaſe

of

of *ſeamen*, I have already anſwered in part: but I can ſee no reaſon why the leſs ſugar ſhould be brought home, if no tea was in the caſe: we ſhould ſtill *conſume* it *all*, or *ſell* it: and if the price was lower, we ſhould be better *able* to ſell it to *foreigners*. All things have their bounds: heaven has ordained it ſo! and we ſee, by every days experience, that the conduct or event, which to a certain degree is productive of good, every ſtep we go beyond it, leads to deſtruction. There is a *meaſure* I ſay in all things: if *France*, and all other nations, would agree to conſume all the products of their art and labor within themſelves in their own country, we ſhould then be on an equal footing; but this is not the caſe, they conſider how to make the *moſt* of their *ſkill* and *labor*, by ſelling the produce of them to foreigners, and they will certainly become our maſters if we do not follow their example. There are many abſurdities, indeed, which are ſupported by arguments leſs *plauſible* than the chain of reaſoning I have juſt mentioned. No body can doubt the greater number

ber of manufacturers we employ, without injury to agriculture, the better; but does it follow, that the faster we wear out our clothes, the richer we shall be? And yet we might as well say this, as that the *more* sugar we consume the *better*.

The mercer will tell you, that the more silk you cut to pieces for flounces, the more he shall sell; and the more he sells, the richer he shall be: but do you imagine the state will increase in power and splendor, by the havoc which female folly creates in this instance? Alas, how many have reason to complain of their inability to pay taxes, on account of the heavy expences they are at to support the follies of their *wives* and *daughters*: you must not imagine that I am writing a satire against women; I will add the extravagance of their *sons* also!

I take it for granted that many will object to *my doctrine*, for the same reason that the *silversmiths* at *Ephesus* objected to *christianity*; it will hurt their *craft*; their *interest* will be affected. They will tell you, that if we abo-

lish tea, we may also abolish many other articles as little *necessary* as tea, and quite change the whole system of *politics* and *commerce*. This is a *fallacious* argument, for if other *unnecessaries* were as dangerous as *tea*, we must be so much the more speedily undone, and hardly have *time* to *deliberate*. But they still insist that the *West-India* trade will be *injured*, with regard to the consumption of sugar. Can this *plea* be supported, even upon the *supposed necessity of expending*, as much sugar, as is now consumed amongst us? I take it for granted, that the infusion of herbs of our own growth, together with such other beverages or aliments as might be introduced, would render the *consumption of sugar* near equal to what it now is, which I have already explained.

Other arguments in favor of tea do not seem to be less weak; it is pretended, that if we do not continue to make use of this *Chinese* product, our *afternoon's entertainment* will become greatly more *expensive* than they are. This supposes we shall *certainly* go from *one folly* to *another*, or that we *must not* correct one *bad* custom

cuſtom for fear we ſhould fall into a *worſe*. The argument proves ſo much, it proves *nothing*. Did we live ſo extravagantly before tea was in faſhion as we do now? certainly not. What *could* we ſubſtitute in the room of tea, that would make ſo great a draught of our *riches*? If a *greater* ſum were *really* expended in our own product, it could not be half ſo pernicious as *tea*. And if we are always to take it for granted, that if we abandon one *great evil*, we ſhall fall into another *greater*, this poor nation muſt periſh indeed: we muſt be *undone*, for *fear* of being *undone*.

If it is a real fact, that we have many aromatic herbs of a grateful flavor, and which become palatable by uſe: and, if it may be preſumed, were the nobility and gentry of this nation to leave off tea, the common people would follow them, will not the *advocates* for tea be reduced to this iſſue? "*Tea is grateful* "*to us; we like tea; and let our country ſuffer or* "*not, we are determined to make uſe of it*". Conſider how this ſtands: ——That tea is *pernicious* in a *commercial* and *political* view, as

well as to *health*, I am *clearly* convinced. Hear the most *ingenious defenders of tea*; they make such work of it, one can hardly believe they mean what they say. Without considering its bad properties, the issue of their *plea* is, that tea is *good* in *some cases*; and that it does no harm to *some people*, and if you are not satisfied with *this defence*, you may seek *a better*.

I have heard fine ladies say, "Lord, how "can those *creatures* drink that vile stuff! "what a draught must such *bad tea* be, and "made so *strong* too! surely the people are "*infatuated*, or they could not be so fond of a "liquor, than which no physic can be half so "nauseous!" Now, Madam, consider seriously if you are not equally *infatuated yourself!* If you are convinced that tea is a pernicious article of *commerce*; if you believe it is generally injurious to *health*; is your infatuation in drinking of *fine tea*, which *you relish*, less than your scullion's, who drinks *coarse* tea, which *she likes?* We may suppose she likes what she drinks, or her infatuation is great indeed! The

truth

truth is, *custom* makes the *law*, and *folly* enforces obedience to it.

All refinements are *dangerous:* Common sense, and every common rule and principle of trade teach us, that the consumption of an article which is unnecessary, injurious to health, hurtful to profitable industry, expensive to individuals, advantagious to our rivals in trade, and producing *nothing* to ourselves, but the change of property from the subject to the state, and back again, wasting the riches of both, must be injurious to subject and state; therefore I apprehend tea is very injurious to us. *Adieu.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XIX.

To the same.

MADAM,

IF we compare our conduct with that of other nations, we shall see that no people upon the face of the whole earth, are guilty of

ſo great an abſurdity in commerce. We ſhall be ſenſible that the wiſeſt nation may become fooliſh; the moſt valiant, effeminate; and merchants, from being "the honorable of the "earth," may, in compliance with bad cuſtoms, become the inſtruments of great miſchief to their country. We who have the moſt extenſive notions of commerce, and have moſt enlarged the ſyſtem of it, ought to ſee this truth in the cleareſt light.

The *French* are contented to be ſerved with tea in *China*, after us, and ſeldom bring home ſuch good tea; but then they pay but little for it; and of this little, a leſs portion of ſilver is employed. But they ſell at home to a greater amount in tea, than they export to *China*, for this commodity, either in ſilver, or merchandize, therefore, inſtead of loſing, they are gainers by the *China* trade.

The *Dutch* purchaſe the greateſt part of the tea they bring home, with their ſpices, pepper, and ſome *European* goods: the *Chineſe* alſo bring great quantities of tea to *Batavia*, where they take theſe commodities And though the

United

United Provinces consume as much, or more, of this article, in proportion to their number of inhabitants, than we do; for the reason above mentioned, they are in better circumstances than even the *French*, with regard to their selling at home, to a much greater amount than they export to *China* for the purchase of it.

The *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Prussians*, carry out silver as well as merchandize, but they also buy the *inferior tea*: they are contented with small profits, but they sell at home a much greater value than they consume, and consequently these nations are *supplied* with tea, *gain* on their cargoes, *support* their companies, and *breed* up *seamen* at other people's cost, and particularly at the cost of the *English*, *Sweden* is not lavish of her gold and silver; a sumptuary law in that country forbids the use of these metals in clothes, and consequently she chuses even to check the increase of some of her manufactures, rather than drain off the little treasure she is mistress of.

We cannot arraign our rulers for our conduct in respect to tea; they do not encourage *drinking* it, much less the *smuggling* of it; nor does the *East-India* company use any arts to countenance this custom. It is the effect of our own folly; it is the prevalency of example, for which you and many other *fine ladies* are answerable to the public. And how will you answer it? — For heaven's sake refrain from this enormous abuse: *rule* yourselves, and your own families: *exert* the power which God and the laws have given you: be the friends of your country; and restore us to safety, wealth, and honor.

It is generally apprehended, that *India* and *China* are such gainers on their trade with *Europe*, that they draw away, by sensible degrees, all the gold and silver which are not consumed, or retained in utensils, in this quarter of the globe. Be this as it may, the nation which consumes most of *Indian* or *Chinese* produce, or manufactures, contributes most to the general balance in favor of these countries; and the less intrinsically valuable, and the more costly

the

the article consumed is, the greater dupe is the nation which consumes it; and consequently, we who consume so much *tea*, are the *greatest dupes* of all the nations in *Europe*.

Had we virtue or wit enough to abstain from tea for a short time, were it only to try the experiment, we should find that very little would be brought into *Europe*; and instead of an *ounce of silver* for *five* or *six* pounds of tea, the *Chinese* would be glad to accept of *five* shillings value in our woollen cloth, in exchange for *half a hundred weight* of this commodity.

With regard to the *conduct* and fashion of the rest of mankind, in respect to tea; or the use of infusions which answer the same purpose; as far as my knowledge goes, I will inform you.

The *French* drink coffee in abundance, which they purchase in *Turky* in exchange for cloth: of late years they drink *tea*, among the better sort of people, and it seems to increase; but the whole is not a *fifth* part of

what

what they have annually brought home for ſome years paſt.

The *United Provinces* conſume more than a third part of what they bring home, viz. near a million of pounds weight. During the *Oſtend China trade*, the *Flanderkins* conſumed a conſiderable quantity of tea; but the preſent poverty of the inhabitants of that country, diverts them from this expenſive cuſtom.

The *Germans* drink tea, but nothing to be compared with us, coffee being more in uſe, and they pay for it chiefly with linen manufactures, and other native products. Did you ever hear that the ſilver mines of *Hanover*, or thoſe of *Saxony*, were exhauſted for the ſake of tea?

The *Hamburghers* are great ſugar-bakers, and many of them rich and luxurious; they conſume *tea* in conſiderable quantities, for a city which contains only 118,000 inhabitants. On the contrary, we find where ſugar is dear and ſcarce, there *tea* will be drank very ſparingly.

The

The *Russians* are chiefly supplied with *tea* by their *carravans* from *Pekin* in exchange for their *furs*: formerly it was of a very choice quality, but not so at present. What little is brought to them by sea, they buy of the *Danes*, and pay for it in hemp, iron, and such like.

The *Poles*, I believe, drink still less tea than the *Russians*.

I am told, in *Italy* tea is very little used.

The *Spaniards* drink coffee and chocolate, the cocoa coming from their own dominions in *America*.

The *Portuguese* also have both coffee and cocoa, from their own territories in *Maranhao*, and use very little tea. They import some from *Macao*, their settlement in the river of *Canton*, but it is consumed chiefly by the *English*, and other foreigners in *Lisbon*; and though gold is well known to be their natural produce, yet they are far from squandering it away, on such articles as tea; on the contrary, they, as well as the *Swedes*, have a

sumptuary

ſumptuary law prohibiting the uſe of it in apparel.

If we go into *Aſia*, or amongſt the *Mahommedans* of *Europe*, we ſhall find the *Turks* ſipping their coffee; but it is produced within their own dominions.

The *Perſians* drink coffee in ſmall quantities, which they alſo receive from *Moca*, and pay for it in their manufactures. They drink no tea, but they have their ſherbets, ſweet waters, acids, infuſions of cinnamon, and ſuch like, which they uſe as an *entertainment*, not as we do tea, at ſtated hours, and all kinds of people without diſtinction. They pay the *Dutch* for the cinnamon partly in the ſilver which they receive for their raw ſilk ſold to the *Turks*, or acquired by their commerce with the *Indians*; but I believe much the greateſt ſhare is exchanged for their drugs and manufactures.

The *Indians* drink *tea*, but not ſo generally as we do, and they pay the *Chineſe* for it in pepper, tin, ſandell wood, and ſuch like.

I never heard that the *Africans* are debauched with *tea*.

In

In the new world, I dare ſay to *one* pound of *tea* which all the other nations conſume, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, the *Britiſh* ſubjects conſume *twenty*, and a great part of it is conveyed thither by that prohibited *flagitious commerce* of going directly from foreign ports with foreign commodities to his majeſty's *North American* dominions.

Thus you ſee how we lay the burthen of enriching *China*, from whoſe friendſhip or alliance we can expect no kind of ſuccour in time of danger, upon our own ſhoulders, and make ourſelves the dupes of our own folly!

With regard to our immenſe conſumption of *tea* in general, we have been lately told, that *France* alone, has run on the coaſts of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, 400 tons, making 896,000 pounds weight: but this is ſo much exaggerated, one would imagine it was thrown out with no honeſt purpoſe. What the real quantity has been, I do not pretend to aſcertain; but from the beſt intelligence I can procure, and from what I ſee of the immenſe conſumption, I make no doubt, that from *France*, the *United*

Pro-

Provinces, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Prussia*, brought in by *smuggling vessels*, and *vessels* which *smuggle*, there has not been a less quantity run in upon us from the *Orkneys* to the land's-end, than *two millions* of pounds annually; and upon this I have made my calculation; tho' in time of war I imagine it must be a great deal less, and therefore more than *three millions* must be imported by ourselves.

War is a great interruption to smugglers: the chief scene of their operations is now removed to *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, these counties being most convenient for that nest — the *Isle of Man*. You have heard, I suppose, that the revenue of that island is computed at 7000 *l.* actually paid to the proprietor, consisting partly of 5 per cent. on the value of piece-goods, which are mostly *Indian*, and one penny on a pound of tea. Foreign ships of considerable burthen carry the goods thither, whence they are exported in smuggling cutters, of which there are near one hundred and fifty, belonging chiefly to the *French*. One may see forty of these, at a time, in the harbor

bor of *Douglas*, in the evening, and by next morning they are loaded and gone to the coaſt of *England*. They chuſe dark nights for theſe dark purpoſes, and carry on an immenſe traffic. When will ſuch proceedings be puniſhed with ſeverity, and the rod of *human* juſtice intimidate, where the fear of divine vengeance cannot!

As to the Tea which is exported from *London*, and ſmuggled in upon us for the ſake of the *draw-back*, I never heard it eſteemed a great object; *Fine teas* will not bear being thus expoſed, and *coarſe* is bought cheapeſt in *France*, and other *European* markets.

With regard to *Ireland*, I have heard it roundly aſſerted, that no leſs a quantity than 1,300,000 pounds are expended in that iſland; but conſidering that *Dublin*, *Cork*, and *Kingſale*, and particularly the firſt, make the chief conſumption, I cannot conceive there is above 6 or 700,000 pounds weight imported into that kingdom; of which about *one-ſixth* part only, being of the beſt ſort of tea, is ſent from *London*.

If

If to *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, we add his Majesty's *American* dominions, I apprehend that all the *European* nations who trade to *China*, have of late years loaded us with near as much as we bring from thence, viz. *three* millions of pounds weight, and if so we are at one-sixth part greater expence on account of *tea* than I have calculated upon. This is not incredible, if we consider how much tea is drank, and by how many channels it comes in, through the course of the whole year. Think what a glorious way we are in, if we go on at the same rate!

Nor are *we* less distinguished among the nations of the earth for the *extravagant* use of *spirituous* liquors, on which I have given you my thoughts in different parts of these pages. The comparison, in general, astonishes the more, because we apprehend no nation is more enlighten'd with regard to *moral* or *political good* and *evil*.

The worst part of mankind who *improve* their *reason* least; who *indulge* their *appetites* most; and not being *pleased* with their own

sober

ſober reflexions, are much given to liquors which intoxicate. No divine or human laws reſtrains the drunkard; the joy he feels in his ſpirits being exhilirated, or himſelf put on a level with the brute creation, is not to be reſiſted. We find the *Turks* have their opium; the *Tartars* their *cuma* or fermented mares milk, even the *Hottentots* make themſelves drunk. The ſouthern nations of *Europe* have *wine*, and the northern *alas* have *corn ſpirits!* whilſt the *Americans* deſtroy themſelves with *rum*, little leſs pernicious than *corn ſpirits*. But *we* have our *beer* which may be conſider'd as a fermented liquor, but it is *proper* to our climate, and the conſtitution of the people, very *nouriſhing*, and if they pleaſe to drink it ſtrong, intoxicating. It will not make them *mad* nor *deſperate*, and they may have the *pleaſure* of being as *ſtupid* and *irrational* as their ſouls can wiſh. So that taking mankind *in their own way, a ſkilful* politician, in this country who would turn the current of this deſtructive habit of drinking diſtill'd ſpirituous liquor,

need only to make it *criminal* to *ſell* any. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XX.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

SINCE we are engaged upon ſo intereſting a ſubject, it ſeems neceſſary to make ſome enquiries with regard to our commerce with *France*; for the more the *ballance* is preſumed to be *againſt* us, the more deſtructive is the article of *tea* which they run in upon us. I beg leave to aſk thoſe who entertain the fond opinion, that the ballance of our trade with *France* is in our *favor*, or very *little* againſt us, a few ſimple queſtions, viz.

1ſt. Whether ſuppoſing value for value equal, either in our legal or illegal commerce with *France*, if ſuch commodities as lead, tin, and raw wool are not of real uſe, and eſſentially beneficial and neceſſary to the *French?*

2d.

2d. What is the intrinſic value of *tea*, *brandy*, and *cambrics*, with regard to *our* conſumption?

3d. If we had the virtue to refrain from taking ſuch commodities of the *French*, whether they would not be *obliged* to pay us in gold and ſilver for the *three* articles juſt mentioned, ſuppoſing they would obtain great quantities of our *wool* alſo by the beſt means they could?

4th. If large ſums of our money in gold are not tranſported to *France*? If they can trace out if ſuch money returns in the *ſame quantities*?

5th. Tho' it is ſaid the *French* melt down a great part of our coin, whether there are not more *guineas* in *France*, than *lous d'ors* in *England*?

6th. As many who *are*, and many who are *not* fine ladies, have knowingly and willingly worn *French* cambrics, notwithſtanding they are forbidden by law; I demand, if you cannot diſtinguiſh *French* cambrics and lawns from others, as they are ſo nearly like our own manufactures, if it would not be much to your honor, and the advantage of your country, to

decline the uſe of all manufactures which reſemble thoſe of *French Flanders?*

If what I was told in *Cambray*, two years ſince, be yet true, the conſumption of cambrics in *England* is as great as ever; and in 1740 to 1743, we imported annually 67,416 pieces, worth about 2 *l.* each. I am ſenſible, that unleſs individuals will endevor to diſtinguiſh, or totally refrain from the uſe of theſe manufactures, nothing can prevent their being run in upon us. But if we could eſtabliſh a *faſhion* to decline entirely the uſe of them, our looms would be employed in making linen, and we ſhould ſave vaſt ſums, which we pay to foreigners, for both linens and cambrics. But here I take the liberty to remark, that we muſt not amuſe ourſelves with fond expectations that the *Germans* will take great quantities of woollen manufactures of us, unleſs we take a conſiderable quantity of linens of them.

7th. If *French* cambrics, and lawns, with lace, and occaſionally rich ſtuffs, trinkets, and all other manufactures, amounts to 200,000 *l.* as generally computed at the loweſt eſtimation, is

is not this ſum near equal to the amount of all the manufactured goods which *France* takes of us, one year with another, *India* goods not excepted, granting that theſe laſt have ſometimes amounted to great ſums?

If the negative of this laſt queſtion could be proved, the general propoſition might ſtill be ſupported. I have ever conſidered it as a miſfortune to this nation, that no clear and well-atteſted account of our commerce with *France* is made out, ſo great a part of it conſiſts in articles which are contraband.

In the legal way of trade, *France* takes of us muſlins and other *India* goods, *coals*, *tobacco*, and *horſes*, together with the *lead* and *tin* juſt mentioned: and the *five* laſt are conſtant articles, which they can hardly do without.

We take of the *French* in a legal way, only *wine* and *indigo*; for the laſt of which, as we are at length attentive to the produce of *Carolina*, we ſhall ſave 100,000 *l.* that we have annually paid to *France*.

With regard to illegal articles of commerce, the *French* take conſiderable quantities of our

uſeful and rich manufactures of ſilk, printed callicoes, and *Birmingham* ware, but not near to ſuch amount as ſome repreſent; againſt all theſe their laws are extremely ſevere.

If the advantage in *manufactures*, or in *legal* commerce, are really on our ſide, it will not compenſate for *tea*, it cannot be an equivalent for *brandy*; nor will it counterballance the injuries we ſuffer by the *raw* and *comb'd wool* they ſteal from us. Here I muſt inform you that the ſmugglers who are concerned in this commerce, rob this nation to the quantity, according to ſome accounts, of ſix to eight hundred packs annually, the value of which, if we conſider *France* as our rival in woollen manufactures, is very great. It is hard to ſay, if the *wool* we ſell to *France*, or the *tea* we buy of her, is moſt pernicious to us. What indignation muſt it raiſe in the breaſt of thoſe who have any ſenſe of the love of their country, when they conſider what advantages we wantonly give to *France* in one ſhape or other! We ought to bluſh at our want of ſkill in not finding more effectual means to prevent it; or rather at our want of probity

probity in carrying on ſuch ruinous trades, upon a preſumption that we ſhall never feel any bad conſequences from ſuch a conduct, or regardleſs what ſuch conſequences may be.

Thus we enable *France* to extend her commerce; to breed up ſeamen; to build ſhips of war; to ſupport the credit of her *India* company, and perhaps to involve us ſoon in a very dangerous and expenſive war. Thus we put a two-edged ſword into her hand; and if *providence* has not more mercy for us, than we have for *ourſelves*, I am perſuaded ſhe will give us a blow, which we ſhall repent in ſackcloth and aſhes. I know the *French* have large reſources independent of us; but the greater theſe are, the more dangerous is our illicit commerce with them, eſpecially as they make 40,000 *l.* go as far in land forces, as we do 100,000 *l.* Let them enjoy the advantages which nature has given them; but they could not benefit ſo much by their *cambrics* if we did not *wear* them; nor could they carry on a trade to *China* above a ſhip or two, if we did not *buy* the *tea* they bring home. 'Tis not

long ſince the *French* had but two *China* ſhips, and 'tis time we ſhould endevor to reduce them to two again.

We have been lately told that the *French* will ſend no ſhips this year to *Canton:* but who will believe it is that they are not able to ſell their tea to us; or that it coſt too dear in *China*, as they pretend? I rather apprehend, that *France* means to collect all her maritime force with a view to ſupport the war againſt theſe kingdoms with the utmoſt vigor. If we conſider that the *French China* trade contributes little or nothing to the royal revenues; and that the *tea* ſhe exports pays hardly any thing, whilſt *ours* pays at leaſt three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to the government, will not *France* always under-ſell us, in a degree not to be reſiſted by ſmugglers? May not this be conſidered as a favourable opportunity, if we had a mind to try a bold and *generous* ſtroke in politics, and follow the example of the *French*. Were we to ſend no ſhips to *China*, but convert them into ſhips of war, to protect the trade to *India*?

Certain

Certain it is, we muſt keep a *good look out*, or they will get to *windward* of us, and engage us with more advantages on their ſide than we can poſſibly gain by tea. The benefits which *France* derives from ſuch meaſures, as we purſue, will *protract* the war, and render it inſupportably expenſive to us; whilſt the iſſue of it will be the more precarious. But were we to follow her example, at the ſame time that we curbed the exceſſive uſe of *tea* at home; we might curb her inſolence alſo. And though the price of this commodity ſhould, by this means, be run up in favor of the *Eaſt-India* company, I can ſee no injury in this, but great good to the community. If our ſhips of war now on the ſeas, with ſome additional ſloops, well ſtationed, can prevent ſmuggling from *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Pruſſia*, and *Holland*, we might do our buſineſs completely; but theſe propoſitions require more virtue than I fear we are maſters of at preſent, and ſo far you may ſet it down as merely *ſpeculative*, and that we muſt wait for better times.

As

As to our trade with *France legal* and *contraband*, I am perſuaded the whole ballance is at leaſt 200,000 *l.* I muſt repeat to you, that an eminent banker in *Paris* aſſured me, that it was not leſs than 300,000 *l.* which the *Engliſh ſpend* annually in *France*, in time of peace; I ſuppoſe he ſhould have added *Italy* alſo: but granting it to be half ſo much, or that the *whole ballance* is not above 2 or 300,000 *l.*: this is ſuch a ſum in favor of *France*, if ſhe had not greater miſchiefs in agitation, ſhe might be glad to evade war with us for ſome years to come, on this very account: and if we, like *Sampſon*, ſuffer our *lock* to be cut off, we muſt be vanquiſhed in the iſſue. Our iniquities, in flying in the face of our laws by ſmuggling, is become our puniſhment in a double capacity; firſt, as it ſo far impoveriſhes and diſqualifies us for war; and next, as it makes ſo dreadful a calamity as war neceſſary, in order to check the power of *France*, and repair the injuries we have ſuffered in ſo dangerous and hurtful a commerce.

Now,

Now, *Madam*, as I am upon the ſubject, I beg leave to add *two* remarks, which I think of great moment: the *firſt* is, that thoſe who buy *ſmuggled* goods, knowing them to be ſuch, are, with regard to the injury they do their country, ſmugglers. The *ſecond*, that I have been acquainted with many perſons of condition, of both ſexes, whoſe honor I had not the leaſt reaſon to call in queſtion, in other reſpects, who have been *arrant* ſmugglers. As *patriots* they wiſhed the laws might take their courſe; and, as far as *humanity* admits, they would look on with pleaſure, to ſee ſome kinds of ſmugglers *hanged*; and yet theſe very people, without the leaſt remorſe, would rob the public, when the occaſion offered, of *duties* on things for their *private* uſe, as if they might do it with a good conſcience, under the condition of loſing the object, if ſurprized in the fact: not conſidering it, in the leaſt, as a *violation* of laws, or ſcandalous in its own nature. With reſpect to ſmugglers who live by the trade, what are ſuch perſons more or leſs, than what pickpockets, who rob occaſionally, are

to

to thieves who plunder houſes. The compariſon is *groſs*; but, upon my word, I can think of none ſo well adapted: the one is a kind of petty larceny, the other felony. If you ſhould be ever tempted to treſpaſs in this kind of robbery, and to injure your *country* by ſo *bad* an example, remember what I now tell you. *Adieu.* I am yours, *&c.*

PART

PART IV.

Herbs of our own growth in lieu of TEA. *Taxes in lieu of Tea. Great expence, and a losing trade, equally destructive. Industry, and moderation in expence indispensably necessary.*

LETTER XXI.

*To Mrs. O******.*

MADAM,

BY this time I apprehend you *begin* to think, that tea is not an indifferent thing, and that possibly it may do us some mischief.

I am

I am very ſenſible of the great difficulty of changing a cuſtom, than which none of the ſame nature was ever more univerſal, or ſupported with a *blinder*, or more *ſuperſtitious* reverence. If I durſt tell you all my thoughts, I would aboliſh the cuſtom of *ſipping*; I would have no liquids uſed hotter than they could be *drank*, in ſmall quantities, without the leaſt pain; and they ſhould always be *drank*, except when they were eaten as ſoop mixed with *bread*, or other conſiſtency. But it is not for this ſipping faſhion only, we are alſo ridiculed by other nations, for eating *butter* conſtantly every morning of our lives, alledging, that we injure our digeſtions by *this* means, as well as by ſipping tea. Butter, which is ſaid to be ſilver in the morning, and lead at night, I believe is *beſt* at *breakfaſt*, but by no means a proper nutriment for people of *weak digeſtions*: it is apt to turn rancid, and create crudities. I have great reaſon to believe that many conſtitutions, ſome that *are*, and ſome that *are not* extremely delicate, ſuffer very much by our *butter breakfaſts*: ſuch repaſts may be not only

ly agreeable, but *ſalutary* taken as a *change* of diet, but not proper for a *conſtant* aliment. Many who complain of indigeſtions, and want of appetite at dinner, were they to leave off butter, and uſe almoſt any infuſion, rather than tea; by leaving nature to do her *own buſineſs*, would promote their health better than the ſkill of the acuteſt phyſician can effect it, whilſt they uſe ſuch an improper diet.

To conſider mankind as they are, it ſeems more probable that we ſhall correct the abuſe I complain of, by *gentle degrees*, than by any vigorous effort. Suppoſe we ſtill retain our *porcelain cups*, and our *ſipping*: I will leave you this indulgence, but it does not therefore follow, that we muſt continue the uſe of tea. If you make it a condition of your reforming this abuſe, I will ſtudy *botany*, or turn *gardener*, and if I do not diſcover herbs in our own country, more healthy in quality, more delicious to an *undebauched taſte*, than the choiceſt tea, let me ſuffer as an *impoſtor*; brand my name to all poſterity, *as an enemy to my country!* Let me *ſeriouſly* recommend to

you

you to exert yourſelf, and make *experiments*, on the *virtues* and *flavors* of our own herbs, the various uſes of *milk*, and in how many ſhapes *barley* and *oats* are prepared as excellent food.

With regard to the manner of preparing herbs for the uſe of the whole year, you muſt gather them in their moſt perfect ſtate, obſerving ſome of the rules which the *Chineſe* practiſe with their *tea:* they ſhould be cut when the flowers are budding, and immediately after the morning dew is dried away: if herbs have any great degree of moiſture in them not proper to their nature, they will not dry kindly; and if the ſun acts upon them intenſely, their ſubtler virtues will be loſt. As to drying of herbs, authors differ about the method; ſome are for the *ſun*, others for the *ſhade*. But I think, if they are parched they will loſe their *flavor*, and crumble into *duſt*; they are not tough like hay, and will not bear an intenſe heat. We are told that tea is cured by fire; but this leaf is greatly inferior in *virtue* and *ſubtil* qualities to many of our own herbs.

Some

Some of the learned pretend, that if *betony* is gathered when juſt going to flower, it has the taſte of tea, and all the *good* qualities of it, without the *bad* ones; moreover, that it cures inveterate head-achs.

You have often heard of the great virtues of *ground-ivy*: the infuſion of it is agreeable, eſpecially if you add to it a drop or two of lemon juice. They ſay, that the habitual uſe of this herb, will cure the moſt obſtinate conſumption: it certainly is a good pectoral, and when green is fragrant: if mixed with a few flowers of lavender, it makes a moſt agreeable liquor for ſummer's uſe. And if gathered at a proper time, has an agreeable taſte to many, but wholeſome to all, even when *dry*.

Balm, and lemon balm, alone, or with ſage, is much recommended; with a few flowers of lavender it has alſo a delicious flavor and taſte, though it is moſt agreeable whilſt it is green.

I know ſome who drink *lavender* infuſed, and commend it highly, provided it be not made too ſtrong. It may be agreeable and

wholeſome, and anſwer better to ſome conſtitutions than the uſe of wine.

The infuſion of the freſh tops of *thyme*, particularly the wild thyme, is reputed good in aſthmas, diſorders of the lungs, and nervous complaints: I apprehend it might, with ſome advantageous mixture, be rendered agreeable to the palate, which depends very much on habit.

Mint, of which there are ſeveral kinds, and of which ſtomachic diſtillations are made, one would imagine might be alſo improved into an agreeable infuſion, though not without the aſſiſtance of ſome mixture.

The flowery tops of *roſemary* are very choice: a very ſmall quantity gives a flavor; it is as dear as fine tea, but it goes three times as far: the infuſion of it is agreeable, and it is ſaid to cure head-achs and nervous diſorders. From this *Hungary* water is diſtilled. But theſe tops mixed with *lavender*, is one of the moſt pleaſing infuſions imaginable.

The

The infusion of *common rosemary* warms and cheers the spirits; it is reckoned the principal aromatic of this climate.

Penny-royal and lavender make a pleasant infusion, and, I apprehend, is wholesome.

Horehound is not agreeable to the taste, but it is recommended by many, as a most admirable infusion for low-spiritedness, and all the disorders attending it.

The flower of *trefoil* is also in esteem with some people. It is grateful; and, if we may judge from its effects on animals, it is very nourishing and wholesome.

If *sorrel* can be dried, and communicate its acid by infusion, I imagine it might be used very advantageously for health, and with no less delight to the palate.

The fragrant *angelica* is as delicious in taste, as sonorous in name: it is esteemed a counter-poison: one would imagine a mixture of it, properly prepared, was it only in the ordinary manner of being candied, might administer to the composition of a most agreeable infu-

ſion, as incomparably beyond the odors of tea, as a *peach* is preſerable to a *mellow apple.*

I am told the leaves of the peach-tree make an infuſion of an admirable flavor, and that it is wholeſome. Upon the ſame principle the leaves of ſome kind of apple-trees might be tried, and I make no doubt that we ſhould excel *China* in many other leaves of trees, or ſhrubs, if they were properly cultivated, and their virtues made known.

As to *ſage* there are ſeveral ſorts, viz. the red ſage, the wood ſage, and *ſage of virtue.* You know it has been, if it is not ſtill, in high reputation even in *China.* Sage was held in ſuch eſteem among the antients, that they have left us a latin verſe, which ſignifies, "*Why ſhould a man die, whilſt he has ſage in* "*his garden?*" It is reckoned admirable as a *cordial,* and to *ſweeten* and *cleanſe* the blood: it is good in *nervous* caſes, and is given in fevers with a view to promote *perſpiration.* With the addition of a little lemon juice, it is alſo very grateful and cooling. Some chuſe to take it dry, alledging, that the ſurface of the leaves

leaves of green ſage abound with animalcule, which are very viſible through a microſcope, and ſo they are in many things of our common food; but we may be aſſured, in this caſe, that the hot water deſtroys them.

Sage, in general, is recommended; ſome think that ſage of virtue is inferior to another kind of ſage, called *balſamic ſage*, which is ſaid to be moſt ſovereign in many caſes, and grateful to the palate. A ſprig of this laſt, nouriſhed with virgin earth, (without dung, which ſhould never be uſed for fine herbs) will ſoon produce abundance. Whether it was this, or ſage of virtue, or any other kind, which the antients held in ſuch high eſteem, I am not acquainted. But this is clear, that *ſage* in general, *balm*, *ground-ivy*, *roſemary-flowers*, and many others, may be rendered grateful, and are to be preferred to *tea* on every account. In ſhort, every one might ſearch for that which is moſt pleaſing to themſelves, obſerving, at the ſame time, that whilſt they conſult the palate, to do no harm to their health; but on the contrary uſe that which

is proper for their respective complaints, or different constitutions, a circumstance which it is impossible ever can be observed by the *general use of tea.*

Various are the herbs, of which the skilful *botanist* can best inform you, taken as pectorals, or to *warm*, or *cool* the body, simple or compounded: it is indubitable that we have many which make very wholesome liquors, such as the physician is not able to dispute their good qualities; and amidst such variety of infusions, we might be allowed to drink some for *pleasure*, as far as nature allows of such pleasure, and for *health* also. This would destroy all temptation to adhere to *tea* with such an *absurd*, and *vicious constancy*, as I fear will *ruin* us in the issue.

And since *sugar* is a product of our own, and none of our own herbs, more than tea, I apprehend will be very *palatable* without it, I do not expect that any *infusion* of such herbs will be *used* without it. This I say, not only because it is my *opinion*, but that I do not mean to attempt any thing which ought to be deem-

ed

ed *romantic*, from the difficulty of carrying the design into execution.

I think it neceſſary to obſerve to you, that the infuſion of *green* herbs is moſt flatulent, as the ſame herbs, when dry, have moſt ſalts, and conſequently require the leſs ſugar. You are alſo to take particular notice, that as the fineſt flavor of tea is that which is drawn off firſt, and very ſoon after the water is poured on it; in our own herbs it holds yet more, as they are higher and more fragrant. Would you therefore do juſtice to the *ſuperior* flavor and taſte, as well as rare *medicinal* qualities of ſuch herbs, you muſt not only make the infuſion of them weak, but pour it off ſooner, and not let it ſtand.

I have already given you my thoughts on the dangerous effects of an uninterrupted habit of ſipping *warm* liquids, and of taking *more* liquids than nature requires. I ſuppoſe the compariſon will hold, in ſome degree, between a human body and the ſtrings of a fiddle; the cat-gut, when wet, loſes its vibration. Let the injury which is done by warm liquids be

what it may, we are ſure that the *aromatic qualities* of our own herbs, in ſome degree correct the *debilitating* powers of ſuch liquids, and conſequently render the infuſions in queſtion much *leſs dangerous* than *tea*.

To encourage your reſearches with regard to our own herbs, let it be remembered, that the ſkilful grocer mixes various kinds of tea, and makes his fortune by pleaſing your palates; why ſhould not *you* make experiments, and mix ſome of our own herbs, *for the good of your country*, unpatented and without reward? If you try, beyond all doubt, you will make ſome very uſeful diſcoveries: and I moſt ſeriouſly and earneſtly entreat that you will enter into the merits of this important caſe.

I was once let into a ſecret, which I have now the liberty of divulging, that by the help of ſome of the fineſt cowſlips, ſuch a flavor was given to tea, as enraptured the ſenſes of all the fineſt ladies in town. We know that a liquor called cowſlip wine is made of this flower, which is agreeable in taſte, and a ſtrong ſoporific: a ſmall quantity of cowſlip flowers,

flowers, with ſome well-choſen herbs of our own growth, might, I apprehend, make a delicious liquor. A certain ſpecies of tea, which was brought from *Pekin*, by the *Ruſſian carravans*, of which hardly any is to be procured now, was in the higheſt eſteem; but I never could diſcover any excellence it poſſeſſed above other tea, except that of the cowſlip flavor. But our grocers have alſo other methods: there are ſome kinds of *eſſences* which give a very high flavor to every thing it comes near, and therefore ſome grocers have ſucceeded ſo much better than others: might not the ſame eſſences be uſed with our herbs? For the reaſons aſſigned in my letter on the *growth of tea*, you may eaſily conclude how very much *ſome* kinds of *tea* excel *others*.

Though I am no friend to a luxurious ſuperfluity, yet in hopes to aboliſh the uſe of *tea*, would it not be proper to preſent glaſſes of *ſugar'd* water, or milk and water, and ſuch like refreſhments, which can be procured without going ſo far as *China*: for my own part, I like to ſip theſe rather than tea: and I find my

ſpeech

ſpeech is as voluble, and my ideas flow as briſk, by the force of a cold liquor, as by a hot one: if you differ with me in opinion, and inſiſt that it muſt be *hot*, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, you are to diſcover the infuſions you like beſt; ſome of thoſe I have mentioned may, at leaſt, make a part of your liſt of agreeable beverages. But let us ever remember the danger there is of oppreſſing nature: let us not add the load of *repletion* be it in *tea*, or any other liquor, to the infirmities of our bodies, and give nature a double taſk, which muſt become intolerable at laſt.

When I hear people talk of their good inclination to leave off tea, if they knew what to ſubſtitute in its place, I am amazed they ſhould be ſo *incurious* with regard to the number of fragrant and medicinal herbs with which this land of *induſtry* and learning abounds. But they ſay, "*We have often begun upon herbs,* "*and finding them leſs agreeable have returned* "*to tea*". If you find *one* of our own herbs not pleaſing, uſe *another*, or mix and compound them: do them the honor they deſerve; and

if

if tea is moſt *agreeable*, you may at laſt reſolve to gratify a *capricious* taſte, at the expence of your health, and at the riſk of the *welfare* of your country.

Let me repeat my requeſt moſt *ſeriouſly*, as you regard yourſelf, as you regard your country, that you will exert your ſkill and induſtry, to make the diſcovery of ſome wholeſome and agreeable beverage, be it cold, or hot, or warm, to ſupply the place of tea; and that you will recommend it, in the ſtrongeſt terms. If you have any curioſity to know what infuſion I occaſionally uſe myſelf, it is ground-ivy with a mixture of ſtick-liquorice, which is *agreeable to me*, and I apprehend wholeſome, though I grant the liquorice is neceſſary only to particular conſtitutions.

You will ſee preſently what further weighty and important reaſons I have to be really *ſerious* in this affair. How many private perſons are intereſted to ſupport tea, is not the queſtion; if it can be proved to be injurious, I hope they will not attempt it at the hazard of *ruining* their own conſtitutions, and injuring their country. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.* LET-

LETTER XXII.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

WE are now come to the moſt difficult part of all: if you can tell me whence to ſupply the ſum of 400,000 *l.* per annum, I ſhall be much obliged to you; I do not mean for *my own uſe*, except it be for the *ſupport* of my preſent ſpeculation. Our firſt conſideration ought to be, the morality of our lives; the next the welfare of our country: theſe are connected with each other in the ſame manner as virtue and happineſs. In the preſent circumſtances of this nation, taxes are eſſential to our very being: we ought to be watchful that the juſt produce of them is well employed; had we done this for theſe forty years paſt we might have been a *great people*. What is to be done *now* is the queſtion? In our preſent ſituation if one tax is abridged or annihilated, another

another muſt be ſubſtituted in its room. I told you in my laſt, and I will repeat, that was the uſe of tea aboliſhed, we ſhould certainly be *enabled* to pay a much larger ſum to the revenue, than the duty on tea amounts to. But a *political arithmetician* will ſay, "*this is calculating at random, unleſs we firſt ſuggeſt the means of raiſing a ſum equal to the duty in queſtion.*"

The want of *ſumptuary laws*, renders it neceſſary to eſtabliſh *parſimonious faſhions*, otherwiſe we muſt be *undone*. We muſt decline *war*, be parſimonious, or *fall* under the load: what we feel hitherto is nothing to what it may be. Under a fond notion of there being no end to our riches, we ſhall ſuddenly become poor. Exceſs will as certainly bring on miſchievous effects to a *community* as it does to *private* men. What then is to be done? Trade, in a direct view, is already taxed to the height: but, if we may judge from appearances, luxury will yet bear many burdens before it *corrects* itſelf, or *ſinks* under its own weight. By luxury I mean a vicious

vicious excefs, particularly fuch as prevents individuals from doing their duty to the public; in other words fuch excefs as ever has, and ever will occafion the *diffolution* of *empires*; and therefore ought to be fuppreffed by all poffible means.

My prefent fpeculation more immediately concerns the fubftituting a *tax* in *lieu* of that on *tea*, in which I fhall only propofe what rifes firft in my thoughts, without any of that elaborate ftudy which fuch fpeculations require.

1ft. As one of the purpofes of this enquiry, is to keep more of our gold and filver at home, as well as to abolifh a pernicious and expenfive article of confumption; fuppofe we were to ufe lefs iron, for which we pay fo much ready money to *Sweden*. This might be done by encouraging the *plantations* of proper kinds of wood, to ferve as *gates*, *rails*, or *grates* round the *parks*, *gardens*, or *fronts* of great mens houfes; or of fuch other places where *iron* is ufed for elegance or ornament, not being abfolutely neceffary. A proper kind of wood, kept well painted, would look near as well,

well, though it might not laſt ſo long. If, in the courſe of time, it ſhould coſt more to the individual, yet as being of our own growth, in a national light it would be a great ſaving to us. The planting of wood in general would likewiſe enable us to work more iron-oar of our own, and we ſhould receive great advantages in this light alſo. Indeed the growth of many Kinds of wood for various purpoſes is of the laſt importance to us.

2d. In lieu of the duty on tea, every man or woman wearing *gold* or *ſilver lace, embroidery*, or other *gold* or *ſilver manufactory*, (lords and gentlemen belonging to the king's houſehold, and to the army and navy excepted) might pay a tax; obſerving that people of quality, and men of great fortunes, ought to pay leſs than others, becauſe rich cloathing is more in character, and ſuppoſed leſs burthenſome to them than to people of inferior rank. But here liberty ſteps in: ſhall we take the advantage of it, when we incline to be fooliſh as well as *wiſe?* I believe we muſt leave this matter juſt as we find it, and tax all perſons

ſons equally, who are not obliged by any military or other regulation, to wear gold or ſilver.

3d. *All women* wearing any kind of *jewels* ſet in gold or ſilver, ſhould pay ſo much for the hands, and ſo mnch for the head; and, if you pleaſe, we will include the rings worn by men, though the ſum raiſed by the latter will be a very trifling affair.

4th. Suppoſe that after twelve months notice, a tax were levied on every one who wears a perriwig. Nature has provided coverings for the head; and as this is no eſſential part of a man, nor eſſential to his dreſs ſuch a tax could not fall into diſgrace, as many others might. I would propoſe, that he who only wears bob wigs, ſhould pay much leſs than him who wears wigs under other denominations, or his own hair dreſſed with *bags*, *ribbands*, *tails*, *wings*, &c. &c. and that the wigs be underſtood to be made of *human hair*, for the poor might be free to wear wigs made of wool, and *horſe-hair*, provided they were made in the form preſcribed, to diſtinguiſh them. This tax would fall properly on luxury, and raiſe

might eaſily raiſe more than the duty on tea amounts to. It would alſo ſet a number of periwig-makers at liberty, to fight, or weave, or plow for the good of their country.

I do not mean to excuſe your ſex, but I am not enough converſant with your dreſs, to know what kind of ornaments are *moſt in uſe*, and which are *leaſt neceſſary*. There are ſome ornaments of the head or neck, for which I ſuppoſe you would chearfully ſubmit to pay half a million, rather than be reſtrained from the uſe of them.

5th. But ſuppoſing we leave you to do as much miſchief, with your dreſs, as you can, without being taxed for it, you would in that caſe, moſt heartily concur in paying twenty or thirty ſhillings anuually for the *liberty* of playing at *cards*; and I ſee no impropriety in this, more than in paying ſo much for wheels to to drive about to *card playings*. No body would be ſo wicked as to touch a card without paying for it! If it reſtrained the lower claſſes of the people entirely from this kind of

play, it could not be deemed an *immoral tax:* how many of their precious hours might be employed, uſefully and not unpleaſantly without cards! If young perſons, whoſe parents might not chuſe to pay the tax for them, were alſo reſtrained, the young lady or gentleman might poſſibly be taught ſomething of as great uſe and entertainment, *and not leſs* eſſential to their welfare in the future progreſs of their lives. I fancy every body would play much the ſame as they do, and that moſt of them would really pay.

6th. Coaches might be double taxed, to the benefit of the public: and every perſon driving above a pair of horſes in any coach, chariot, chaiſe, or ſuch like vehicle, (waggons and carts excepted) or keeping above *three* ſaddle horſes, ſhould pay a conſiderable *tax* for every ſuch horſe. And if it were collected at the veſtry of the pariſh where they live, no fraud could paſs undiſcovered.

7th. Every perſon keeping one man ſervant, or two women-ſervants, not being farmers or mechanics, who gain their bread by manual

manual labor, might pay a tax for every ſuch ſervant, increaſing the rate on each: ſuppoſe for the firſt ſervant twenty ſhillings, for the ſecond forty, for the third three pounds: thus advancing till it ſhould raiſe a great ſum, and become very burthenſome to thoſe who employ, or rather keep in idleneſs, a number of hands, which might be of great uſe in war, agriculture, or manufactory. This ſeems to be the moſt conſiſtent plan, to ſupply ſuch a deficiency. And if war ſhould render a greater number of *men* neceſſary to our ſupport, than can be found by the ordinary means of raiſing them, what method ſo effectual as this to eaſe individuals, and relieve the ſtate when it is in diſtreſs?

Whatever taxes the wiſdom of the legiſlature might impoſe to anſwer the ſalutary purpoſe intended by this ſpeculation, let us think *ſeriouſly* of aboliſhing the uſe of tea: the evil is become enormous, and you will get immortal honor if you ſubdue it.

You ſee I *declaim* as if I thought the buſineſs in queſtion might be accompliſhed: I do

really think ſo: it may require ſome *patience*, but I believe we ſhall grow wiſer in time and reform this abuſe. The greateſt *flame* has often aroſe from a *ſpark*, and this which my zeal has already blown into a *gentle fire*, may in time conſume all the tea in the kingdom; or prevent its being longer *imported*. I would gladly compound, that nobody ſhould ſuffer for what is *on hand*, or on the *way home*. Tho' I purſue my argument with a zealous exertion of my faculties, I ſhould be ſorry to ſee any *one* ſuffer. But 'tis better a *million* ſhould ſuffer, than *eight* millions ſeek their own ruin by ſuch an abſurd cuſtom, and ſo pernicious a commerce.

If you mean to begin the *reformation*, reform yourſelf: 'Tis thus the moſt herculean labors are ſubdued with eaſe: and if you do not reap all the advantages which a thorough and immediate reformation might produce, you will have the conſtant approbation of your own mind on earth, and your reward in heaven: you will do yourſelf the ſame honor, and re-

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ceive the same applause. The *soldier* who discharges his duty, and maintains his post, with valor and intrepidity, though his *comrades* act the part of cowards, is the more esteemed. And though we should stand single and unsupported, the reward of virtue will not be the less. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XXIII.

To the same.

MADAM,

FROM the difficulty of raising money even by taxing *luxury*, at a time when luxury threatens the very downfal of the state, we are naturally led to the consideration how to *save money*, that we may save the *state*.

Since tea has prevailed so *universally*, which is now about *twenty* years, it is computed there has been an increase of the consumption of sugar near one *fourth* part. In the calculation mentioned in my former letter, I make only

about a *third* part of the whole importation of sugar, as it now stands, consumed on the account of tea. Now supposing the same industry had prevailed in our sugar colonies, and instead of this vast consumption at *home*, we had sold it *abroad*, though at no higher price than the *French* sell theirs, what *riches* might have been accumulated by this article alone! Our industry now only serves the purposes of *luxury*, and to add a small number to our seamen to bring the sugar home, to be *near all* consumed by *ourselves*.

We shall form a clearer idea of our *disadvantage*, if we compare our *expensiveness* in this article with the *frugality* of our competitors the *French*. If they grow great by such frugality, can we augment our wealth and national strength by expending the whole ourselves? The case of *nations* compared with *nations* is, in some instances, similar with that of private men: how does *one*, who is *moderate* in expence, outstrip *another* who is *extravagant*! And in this instance the *French* are *frugal*.

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The increase of the price of sugar with us, has rendered it an object of *parliamentary* enquiry, and methods have been proposed for remedying the evil. But what remedy can be discovered for *extravagance* but *parsimony?* Besides, every thing will bear a price in proportion to the demand for it. I am sorry to tell you, that the extent of lands belonging to the *French*, for the cultivation of their sugar, and the fertility of those lands, are so much beyond ours, that *French* sugars are oftentimes fifty to sixty per cent. cheaper than ours; but this still teaches us *frugality*, if we mean to cope with *France*. If it is really true, that we have no more proper land for sugar canes in our islands, than we really use; to remedy this evil we should try if some parts of the *continent* of *America* will not produce *sugar*. Nor must we think it sufficient that we pay for our sugar in our own produce; that produce should furnish us with sugar indeed; but we should have also *something* besides sugar for it, if we mean to support our greatness.

Without entering deeper into this argument, we all know that in most cases the *encrease* of wealth depends on industry and *frugality*; the great point is to sell our goods to our *neighbours*, instead of consuming them ourselves. By this we have been enriched, and by this we must support our strength, unless we change the *system*, and are *contented* with the produce of our own lands only. And how shall we be able to cope with *France*, if they convert their *tea*, as well as their *sugar*, which are such great objects, into *ships of war*, and by industry and toil qualify themselves for war, whilst *we* enervate our bodies by consuming such vast quantities of these commodities, and *sip* out our own *vitals* in a double capacity?

We act, in this instance, as if there could be no necessity of fixing *bounds* to our consumptions; as if our *funds*, to support our *expences*, were *inexhaustible*, though *experience* seems to prove that we cannot go on long at the same rate. We even shorten the period of life by overstraining *industry* to support luxury; at the same time that luxury wounds our vitals,

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and we assiduously seek our own death, naturally, and politically. As a modern phrase expresses it, *we live in hot water*; though we know if the veins are too full, they will be in danger of bursting.

It is universally allowed, that the truest joys arise from temperance; *health*, and *serenity* of mind, are the constant companions of *moderation:* but pain and perturbation ever wait on *excess*. Providence provides for all mankind; but if we consume much more than our share of the good things which the earth produces, we must, in the course of *time*, be in *want*, either as a consequence of creating desires so much beyond the demands of nature, or from the earth itself being subject to accidents: the *elements* are sometimes at war with mankind, whilst *real wars* make great devastations; therefore to last long, either as individuals, or as a state, we must be *moderate*. If I was inclined to prophecy, I should say, " If we do not become more moderate in " our consumptions of many *useful*, as well as " *useless* articles, we shall find ourselves grow

" *poor*,

"*poor*, and the cause of the decline of our "wealth will be very difficult to account for "any other way, than that we have *devoured* "it". We may delude ourselves into the belief, that *private vices* are *public benefits*; but this quibbling fallacy, whilst it soothes the corruption of mankind, tends so much to destroy the distinctions between *virtue* and *vice*, it confutes itself. If this doctrine were true, it would follow that, in order to render the community most happy and flourishing, it is necessary that every individual should be *vicious*; or it will follow that he is the *worst* member who has *most* virtue.

Every man is supposed to wish that he could do good to his country, but he who attempts to do it by *vicious* means, will find himself greatly mistaken in the issue. If, for instance, we consider the consumption of tea partially, and without regard to its pernicious consequences, it must be confessed that the state is benefited; it breeds a number of seamen, and furnishes about a twentieth part of the national revenue:

venue: but yet upon the whole it appears to be extremely injurious.

Were you to reflect on the advantages which arise from abstinence; were you to contemplate the charms of temperance and self-denial; you would think *that* woman very amiable, who saved the superfluous expence of tea, was it only with a view to relieve the distresses of *one* poor family: what praises then are due to her whose *design* is to promote the welfare of her country, and whose conduct is calculated to prevent the miseries of a million of families!

There is hardly any thing so difficult to define as *luxury*, and yet in *many* instances we can hardly *mistake* it. It appears in several shapes, often doing great injury, when we suspect no harm; and sometimes the *appearance* of luxury, is not luxury, but an expence which is not inconsistent with the virtue of individuals, and is really beneficial to the community. We are therefore very subject to err in our judgment of this matter. By luxury, in a *moral* sense, I mean excesses which hurt the mind or body; particularly excesses in eating and drinking, which

which are always unnecessary, and in many cases extremely hurtful to the *constitution*, morally as well as *politically* considered. In this sense of the word, drinking tea is *luxury*; inclining to the worst side, for it hurts health, and shortens life; it is not so *immoral* as some excesses are; but, *politically* considered, not equalled by any *one* debauchery we are guilty of, unless we except the use of *gin*.

But whilst individuals are attentive to their *private* concerns, be they hurtful to the community or not, the *skilful statesman* will endevor to discover when we go too *fast*, or too *slow*; he will observe what trades are *advantageous*, and which are *prejudicial*, and cherish or discountenance them accordingly. A profitable trade will ever produce the contrary effects of a losing branch of commerce. The first increases riches, and invites foreigners, who covet to reside in countries where riches abound, and to send their fortunes where they can be improved. Thus riches create riches, and they generally augment the number of inhabitants. In such countries *industry* will flourish, and *arts* will

will be improved. But a *losing trade* impoverishes; it lowers the *reputation* of a nation; it drives people into other countries, consequently diminishes their numbers. And if such a losing trade consists in articles *pernicious* to health, the number will be also decreased by lives being shortened.

However obvious it may be, that a branch of trade is pernicious, it may be extremely difficult to suppress it any other way than by the force of *example*; for if we proceed to a degree of rigor, which is not consistent with the *liberty* of a free people, the *remedy* will become worse than the *disease*. This truth is verified in one light, in the affair of the *cambrics*, against which nothing can prevail, but the fashion of wearing other manufactures.

Time and chance happens to all men; but as it is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to trace out the *latent* causes of the *adversity* of individuals; so with regard to a community, its welfare may be undermined in a *secret* manner. All the causes may never be discovered; but where these *are* apparent, a people must

must be *abandoned* indeed, if they will not apply themselves to the *removal* of them.

It is the same in the *national* account, as in *private* life; there must be *great* revenues to support a *great expence:* against every *hurtful* trade there must be a *beneficial* one. If upon the force of a profitable trade, we spend as if we pursued none that is unprofitable, or which drains off our gains, and yet *in fact* we pursue a losing traffic, as a nation, we must be undone in the issue. The circumstances of a whole *community* do not, in all instances, admit of a comparison with those of a *private* family; but who can dispute that the same false maxims which impoverish *one* family, may, in the course of time, impoverish a *million* of families?

According to the vulgar proverb, "what is "*saved*, is *gained*": this also is not *always* true in private life, and less in national concerns; but it is true in some instances: and I take the *saving* which I propose in the article of tea, to be one of those instances. I have calculated our expence in tea to amount to near *three millions:*

lions: if it is really but two, and if we gained, that is *saved* one million only every year, by leaving off the use of tea, in twenty or thirty years, without reckoning interest upon interest, it would amount to a sum of such importance as might be sufficient to turn the course of the most *expensive* and *dangerous war*. *Adieu.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XXIV.

To the same.

MADAM,

WHATEVER notions may be *fondly* entertained, we must always keep this in view, that it is the *industry* and labor of the poor which support a state. But if we would really support it in power and *splendor* our corn, our manufactures, and the produce of our mines, must be sold in large portions to foreigners; without this the miner, husbandman, manufacturer, and mechanic, will not find sufficient employment; nor will the state

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enjoy the ſame degree of ſtrength and power, as are now derived from that labor and induſtry. But the produce of theſe muſt not be *given* away, nor muſt it be exchanged for dirt, or what is the ſame, for *tea*.

By the force of induſtry, and our native products, we might be a happy people; but we could not be great, with regard to that part of life which depends on ſuch produce of other countries as contribute ſo large a ſhare to the elegances and refinements which we ſo much admire. But tea is *conſumed*, and yet it does not *nouriſh*; it does not add to the ſhow of the table; nor yet adminiſter in any one reſpect even to *grandeur*.

Virtuous and uſeful induſtry is the true fountain of riches: whatever obſtructs this muſt be *pernicious*. If by any *purſuit* of gain we do *no good* we injure the community: but if by ſuch purſuits we *injure* our own health, and yet bring nothing to the *common ſtock*, which is ſerviceable to life, the public will in the iſſue,

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in this light also, be *injured*, and will feel the *bad effects*.

If it is by *useful* articles of commerce, either exports or imports, such as promote industry, provide *necessaries*, or bring in gold or silver, that a nation becomes *opulent*; by such imports as tea, which obstruct industry, and is all for home consumption, a state must be *impoverished*.

People who are wise consider farther, that a great part of the riches of this nation depends on virtue and mutual confidence. This also should teach us to *proportion* our *expences* to our income, and to the nature of such income. A merchant who gains a thousand pounds yearly, ought not therefore to spend a thousand pounds: knowing that he is subject to accidents, losses, and the diminution of his capital, he will calculate accordingly, and spend so much less. But alas, though our income is become precarious in one *great* instance, do we spend the *less* on that account? All who have money in the funds are merchants, and are subject to such contingences as affect the political interest as well as the real com-

merce of the nation, but we ſeem to think very little about the matter, in this light.

We are a trading people in more ſenſes than one. Whilſt ſo vaſt a property conſiſts in a national debt, the ſtate muſt be conſidered as the bank or fountain, whence a great part of our trade is ſupplied; and therefore we ought to be watchful of all opportunities of promoting the *intereſt* of the *ſtate*. How greatly we might aſſiſt it by abridging our *ſuperfluous expences*; and how neceſſary ſuch *aſſiſtance* is, eſpecially if it ſhould be our fortune to be again involved in a war, no lover of his country, no virtuous perſon of common ſenſe, can heſitate a moment to pronounce.

He therefore who ſhows an example of a frugal appearance in dreſs, table and equipage, makes the greateſt *eclat:* and unleſs he enjoys a *paternal* inheritance of great value, *he* is the *meaneſt*, and the moſt *dangerous* member of community, who figures with the moſt ſplendor —— This may be a hard leſſon for a *woman* to underſtand, and in theſe *ſelfiſh* times, for a *man* alſo; but ſo it is. The difference is,

is, one is a *vain* creature, a votary to a tinsel coat, of his own foolish fancy; the other may have a god-like mind, and think of preserving millions, himself contented with the few things nature demands.

Temperance and *moderation* always bid fairest to make *heroes* or *heroines*, and would be at this time, in a more particular manner, the *props* of the *state*, as they ought to be the objects of applause in *private* life. *We find in the most dangerous times of the* Roman *state, men called from the obscurity of their little farm, have saved their country from perdition.* How much more easy it is to bring down our desires to moderate enjoyments, than to acquire the means of such gratifications as our *passions* and *appetites* crave! And how glorious it will be when we *finish* life, to think that we have endevored to discharge the *great business* of it.

We need not be afraid of sinking into *indolence*, nor of becoming *simple* in our manners, like *Arcadian* shepherds. I question if there is any state or kingdom in the world, in danger of its splendor being abridged by parsimo-

ny or ſimplicity of life. For our parts we ſeem to vie with each other, who ſhall be moſt expenſive; or, in a vulgar phraſe, *who ſhall be the greateſt* fool, *and part with his money ſooneſt*. We live ſo much on the ſtretch in point of expence, that it is plain the richeſt are ſupported from hand to mouth.

I have heard it very ſeriouſly maintained, that the folly and extravagance of particular perſons, can do no injury to the community, becauſe, ſay they, whatever is loſt by one, another gains. This doctrine is admirably calculated to *lull* us into a *falſe ſecurity*, and the more dangerous as I think it is not true except in a few inſtances; and ſeems to be juſt as fallacious as that of *private vices* being *public benefits*. If wealth paſſes from the hands of a *vicious* man into that of a *virtuous* one, inſtead of being injured, the ſtate may be benefited; but for the very ſame reaſon, it would have proſpered leſs, had ſuch riches remained in vicious hands: whence it follows, that the happineſs of the ſtate depends on the virtue and wiſdom, not the vice and folly of individuals. He who ſquanders his fortune, ceaſes

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in that inſtance to be a virtuous man; but when extravagance becomes epidemical, and infects a whole community; when many follow the example of the *ſpendthrift*, who ruins himſelf, many will be ruined; ruined beyond the proportion which others are benefited; and conſequently the intereſt of the ſtate will be hurt. If the vintner, by ſelling wine, acquires ſuch a fortune as to gain a *title*, and the lord, by drinking it, becomes ſo poor as to have no coach for his coronet, 'tis ten to one, but this mutation of property occaſions a diminution of virtue, as well as riches and diſtinction, and leaves the ſtate in a worſe condition than it was.

It is impoſſible I think to ſeparate the *virtues* and *vices* of private men, from the *benefit* or *injury* of the ſtate which is compoſed of ſuch men. Many cauſes may interfere to prevent the total ruin of it: all vices are not equally pernicious; ſome may do very little or no harm, beyond the individual; or the conſequences of the injury may be very remote: providence has ſo ordained, that there is hardly a caſe ſo deſperate, but

there are *remedies* for it; *but I ſee no remedy for* great vice *in ſome, except it be* great virtue *in others.*

There is a certain degree of private expence, according to the abilities of individuals, and according to times and circumſtances, which promotes the intereſt of a community upon principles of worldly grandeur; beyond this degree it muſt languiſh and decay. This general principle is obvious; but the true meaſure of ſuch expence every one ought to ſeek in his own fortune, taking in the demands of the ſtate. He that ruins himſelf by extravagance is a bad ſubject; tho' not ſo bad as he who hoarding up wealth, ties up the hands of induſtry, and endevors to keep every one incapable of enjoying the good things of life.

There is alſo a certain degree of *magnificence* and *grandeur* inſeparable from all great ſtates; but *we* exceed the due meaſure, not ſo much in the external part of ſuch *magnificence*, as in the expence of it. In every rank of life we ſeem to try who ſhall diſtreſs the other moſt,

by

by demanding for every thing more than 'tis worth.

It ſeems to be one of the defects of the leaſt imperfect form of government which has been hitherto deviſed, I mean our own, that the different ranks of people are too much confounded: the lower claſſes, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, preſs ſo hard on the heels of the higher, if ſome remedy is not ſpeedily found, the *lord* will be in danger of becoming the *valet* of his gentleman. The noble who, through idleneſs, truſts his *money*, if not his *ſecrets*, with his *ſervants*, and conſents to their *raiſing contributions* on *his friends*, muſt often ſee his *footman* with more money in his purſe than himſelf; and I ſuppoſe 'tis the caſe ſometimes, though not ſo often, with your handmaids.

If it is true that *ſumptuary laws*, are not reconcileable with the nature of our government, let us at leaſt endevor to eſtabliſh *faſhions* to anſwer the ſame end, and aboliſh thoſe cuſtoms which experience proves to be grievous and burthenſome.

The notions we entertain of *liberty*, joined to the vanity which uſually attends on riches, ſeem now to lead all ſorts of people into errors with regard to expence; and when they are once engaged, *pride* forbids them to retrench and alter their method of life. Thus when wealth, eaſe, and ſecurity, intoxicate with *deſires* which have no better ſupport than fancy and opinion, in proportion as theſe evils increaſe, the good order and oeconomy of private life muſt unavoidably decline, and with it the *ſtate* alſo.

The *fantaſtic* notions which luxury has introduced, give deeper wounds to the happineſs which nature points out to us, than all the other evils to which we are ſubject. Among the *higher* orders of the people we muſt expect they will create to themſelves wants which have no foundation in nature; but when the *poor* of any country give into *wild fancies*, and like children cry for the *moon*, or what is almoſt as abſurd, think nothing ſo good for them as *tea*, can the conſequences fail of being ruinous? At what period of time, or in what country was it ever known, that the

poor

poor were so generally ambitious of emulating the *rich*, as to consume the product of so remote a country as *China* is from us? The barrier is thus beaten down; the distinction is abolished; and if the common people, with the nation in general, forget what they owe to *themselves*, they will hardly remember the obligations they are under to the public, Vicious *excesses* thus creating a vicious *self-love*, by abusing our advantages in *every rank of life*, and perverting the *kindness* of providence, *in so many instances*, we shall become our *own* destroyers, if we should not fall a prey to a *foreign* enemy.

The period seems to be drawing near, in which we must give some check to our career: let us do it in *time*, and with a *good grace*. To all appearance we must engage in a very expensive war, or see our power abridged, and with it the means of acquiring riches: and if the channels by which our wealth is supplied are stopt, or cut off, we must fall into poverty. We seem to have carried our riches and improvements to their utmost height: but so far from

from probity of mind keeping pace with them, it is but too plain that it declines, or goes retrograde; and if the ſupport of nations depends on *virtue*, and oeconomy in expence, are we not taking great ſtrides to our ruin in a double capacity?

Thus it may be our lot to fall as the greateſt empires of the world have done! From the very nature of things, wealth will promote luxury, and luxury corruption, and when this reaches to a certain height, diſſolution will follow corruption in the political, as it does in the natural body. One would be almoſt tempted to think, though it may ſeem a paradox, that our happineſs, if not our grandeur, muſt ultimately depend on our humiliation, as it probably will prove the *beſt*, if not the *only* means to introduce more *virtue* amongſt us. It is very apparent that we have already carried things to ſuch exceſs, that there is no better counterpoiſe in the political ſcale, than that the only people on earth, from whom we apprehend any danger, are become as vicious and expenſive as ourſelves —— except that they are too

wiſe

wiſe to conſume the *tea* and *ſugar* which their induſtry provides, but convert them into money.

We have been hitherto enabled to ſupport great fleets, and upon emergencies great armies alſo: we have checked the encroachments of *France* whoſe extent of dominion, and number of inhabitants, are ſo much greater than ours. But how have we been able to do this? not by the force of *valor* only, but of *money*. You have often heard it ſaid, that it is *money* which fights againſt *money*. We may implore the goodneſs of heaven to prevent the neceſſity of our being involved in war; but if that is unavoidable, we muſt pray for common ſenſe, and common virtue, to carry it on at a *leſs expence* than we did the laſt: and if at the ſame time we live at a *leſs charge*, and decline the uſe of ſuch dangerous and expenſive articles as tea, we may prevent its calamitous conſequences. Without ſtraining my argument in the leaſt, ſo far as it relates to *tea*, it is certain, that in proportion as this drug deprives us of our riches, it muſt render the iſſue of a war hazardous.

To

To bring my general argument to my particular purpoſe, I am ready to grant, what a few alledge, that ſome of the entertainments of our foreſathers, in the afternoon, were more chargeable than tea; but theſe were not *general* as tea now is, and conſequently not near ſo expenſive, conſidering the whole people in one view. Beſides the ſweatmeats and cyder, or cakes and ale, with ſuch like aliments as they conſumed in thoſe days, were of our own produce, and did not drain us of gold or ſilver; theſe were alſo good food and nutriment. We are alſo more expenſive in dreſs, equipage, and furniture, and in all the elegances and parade of life, than we were at that time: and this not with a few perſons of great fortunes only, but among many who ſurprize the world whence their ſupport comes. Conſider alſo, that we were not then in ſuch *public-debt-diſtreſs*, and conſequently under no neceſſity of retrenching.

To carry my argument yet farther, let me aſk you, are we poorer, or richer, than we were formerly? If *poorer*, we ought to abridge our

our expences, and not live so much above the practice of past times: if *richer*, how comes it we treat the public so *ill* as to suffer it to remain so deep in *debt?* Let us not talk of the great sums spent, according to the customs of past times; let us not argue from thence that we may indulge ourselves in *tea*; but seriously endevor to act in such a manner, as may bid fairest to restore all the national safety and honor our ancestors maintained and enjoyed in the best of times, and the full extent of that substantial happiness which we are now capable of, were we virtuous.

You have lately seen a considerable specimen of that diffusive wealth, together with the noble and delightful scenes which distinguish this island. It is not merely the greatness of a single lord, or half a dozen nobles: what riches, what comfort, what elegance, what delight, are spread over the face of this country! Happy mortals, if we knew our own felicity in its true extent, and took the right methods to preserve it! *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

PART

PART V.

Force of fashion with regard to tea. The tyranny of custom. Fashion changeable.

LETTER XXV.

To Mrs. D***.

MADAM,

THOUGH mankind are so much devoted to the gratification of their *senses*, there are some pleasures not merely intellectual, in which the *understanding* also has no small share, and body and soul seem to act reciprocally on each other, for their mutual advantage.

tage. Of this sort I consider *chearful* meals in good company, as recommended by the great *Lord Bacon*, as one of the most useful rules for the prolongation of life. But he no where speaks of *social* pleasures depending on a cup of *warm* liquid to fumigate the brain, and moisten the glands of the throat. If there are *rare properties* in *tea*, to brighten the intellects, and enliven conversation, it ought to be confined to those choice *spirits* who soar above *common* mortals. A cup or two as a *bitter*, could do no great injury to the body natural, or political: if the choice tea of *China* was drank only in small quantities, not hot, nor strong, and confined to the higher orders of the people, it could not do any great mischief. But we should not *deceive* ourselves by imagining, as some do, that because it may relieve nature, under *a debauch*, that it is to be taken when *no debauch* has been committed. This seems to be as great an absurdity, as imputing that to a *bad digestion*, and a *disordered constitution*, which is really owing to an *improper diet*. And this last, I apprehend, is one of the

the most common, and most dangerous mistakes which mankind fall into. They call that a *weak* constitution, which is not *strong* enough for them to play with in every manner which a *silly* fancy can suggest to them.

It is the curse of this nation, that the *laborer* and *mechanic* will *ape* the *lord*; and therefore I can discover no way of abolishing the use of tea, unless it be done by the irresistible force of *example*. It is an *epidemical* disease; if any seeds of it remain it will engender an universal infection. To what a *height* of folly must a nation be arrived; when the *common people* are not satisfied with *wholesome food* at *home*, but must go to the remotest regions to please a *vicious palate!* There is a certain lane near *Richmond*, where beggars are often seen, in the summer season, drinking their *tea*. You may see *laborers* who are *mending the roads* drinking their tea; it is even drank in *cinder-carts*; and what is not less absurd, sold out in cups to *Haymakers*. He who should be able to drive *three Frenchmen* before him, or she who might be a

breeder

breeder of ſuch a race of men, are to be ſeen *ſipping* their tea!

" *Was it the breed of ſuch as theſe,*
" *That quell'd the proud Hyſperides?*"

Were they the *ſons* of *tea-ſippers*, who won the fields of *Creſſy* and *Agincourt*, or dyed the *Danube*'s ſtreams with *Gallic blood?* What will be the *end* of ſuch *effeminate* cuſtoms extended to thoſe perſons, who muſt get their bread by the *labors* of the *field!*

From the pride of imitating her *betters*, and the habit of drinking this *deluding* infuſion, nurſes in general, in this part of the iſland, contract a *paſſion* for this *bitter* draught, which bears down all the duties of humanity before it! Nor are theſe alone diſtempered with this *canine appetite* for tea; you know it to be almoſt *literally* true, in many inſtances: every miſtreſs of a family knows it to be true, of their ſervants in general, eſpecially the *females*, who *demand* your *ſubmiſſion* to this *execrable* cuſtom, and you *ſubmit*; as if the evil was *irremedi-*

able. Nay, your servants *servants*, down to the very beggars, will not be satisfied unless they consume the produce of the remote country of *China.* They consider it as their *magna charta*, and will die by the sword or famine, rather than not follow the example of their mistresses. What would you say, if they should take it in their heads not to *work* without a daily allowance of *French* wine? This would not be thought a more extravagant demand now, than tea was esteemed forty years ago. Consider the *tendency* of these pernicious and *absurd* customs!

Look into all the cellars in *London*, you will find *men* or *women* sipping their tea, in the morning *or* afternoon, and very often both morning *and* afternoon: those will have *tea* who have not *bread.* I once took a ramble for two months, attended only by a servant: I strolled far into several parts of *England*, and when I was tired of riding, I walked, and with as much decency as I could, often visited little huts, to see how the people lived. I still found the same *game* was playing; and *misery* itself

itself had no power to banish *tea*, which had frequently introduced that misery. I have been told, that in some places where the people are so poor, that no one family possesses all the necessary *apparatus* for tea, they carry them to each others houses, to the distance of a mile or two, and *club* materials for this *fantastic* amusement.

What a wild infatuation is this! it took its rise from *example*; by *example* it is supported; and *example* only can abolish the use of it. The suppression of this dangerous custom depends entirely on the example of ladies of rank in this country. Tea will certainly be acknowledged a bad thing, as soon as *you* leave off drinking it. No *lady*'s woman, or gentlewoman's chamber-maid, will drink a liquor which her mistress no longer uses. Some indeed have resolution enough, in their own houses, to confine the use of tea to their own table; but their number is so extremely small, amidst a numerous acquaintance, I know only of *Mrs.* T******, whose name ought to be written out in letters of gold.

Be assured, it is in *your* power to destroy this *many-headed* monster, which devours so great a part of the *best* fruits of this land; and that the welfare of your country depends greatly on *your* virtue. If you do not improve these hints, it is not my fault: but if you treat them with the respect they deserve, I will employ all my interest to have a *statue* erected to your *memory*, not of *gold* or *silver*, for I fancy we shall want these metals for other purposes, but of *brass* or *marble*, which will last as long. It shall be inscribed:

M. DCC. LV.
To
the remembrance
of the *fair guardian spirits* of
BRITAIN,
Whose influence and example
abolished the use of
a *Chinese* drug called
TEA;
the infusion of which had been for many years
drank in these realms and dominions,
injuring

injuring the health,
obstructing the industry,
wasting the fortunes,
and exporting the riches,
of his *majesty*'s liege subjects:
&c. &c.

You may now *laugh* if you please; *I will laugh with you*, provided you will also, in its turn, think *seriously* upon the subject. If you *pretend* to any *love* for your country, you *must* think seriously. *Wisdom* and *virtue* have been, in all ages of the world, the props of empires; *folly* and *vice* the *visible* causes of their *decline*, their *ruin*. As the causes which produce the most interesting events, are oftentimes less discernable by us, and less important than the case in question, I really think great mischiefs will attend such an undistinguishing universal use of tea.

Let us *lament* those evils we cannot *cure*: it is in *vain* to quarrel with mankind for their *sins*, much more for their *follies*. What can we do better than *practise* what we *preach*, and

leave the rest to heaven? Moderation in most cases is best; it bids fairest to conciliate the different tempers and opinions of mankind. If *you* are *angry* with those who differ with you in sentiment, *they* will be angry with you, with the same reason: and from the moment prejudice takes possession of the mind, we injure the cause of *truth*, if we do not totally desert it. If your *patriotism* blazes forth, if you forsake the gentleness of the *dove*, and mount on the wings of the *eagle*, you may soar above your own height, and *lose* yourself, without being able to show others the *true way*. We ought however to *hoard* up *instruction*; and whilst we attempt to *teach* others, we may happily discover our *own faults*. *Farewel.*

LE T-

LETTER XXVI.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

THOUGH I charge the account of tea with many evils, it would look like prejudice to impute to it all the miſchiefs which a *raging paſſion* for amuſements and viſits, have introduced into the polite *Britiſh* world: the truth is, you are frequently hurried from your tea in purſuit of other amuſements. You have abuſed the uſe of this drug in a double capacity; firſt, by ſuffering it to become ſo *vulgar* an entertainment; and next, by *playing at cards*, inſtead of *diſcourſing over your cups*, abolifhing the *primitive* eſtabliſhment, and the only *good* of *tea-drinking*. I wiſh the old manner of ſipping-entertainments was reſtored, provided ſome other liquor were introduced in place of *tea*. In the mean while give me leave me to obſerve, that whilſt ſo great a por-

tion of time is appropriated to *reſt*, *cards*, the *diverſions* of the theatre, the *table*, and *ſometimes* to the care of domeſtic affairs, none of my acquaintance, that I know of, except two or three old gentlewomen, ever retire to their cloſets, as our *grandmothers* often did.

If, after breathing out my *zeal* againſt *tea*, you ſtill perſiſt in this abſurd and dangerous cuſtom, methinks I ſhould be glad, like an able *politician*, to try what advantage I can turn it to, that thoſe whoſe paſſion for it is *invincible*, may become the more *devout*. Though you fair patriots ſhould not form a *body*, I hate the word *party*, ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs the uſe of tea, you may devote ſome part of the afternoon, ſuppoſe only *half an hour*, to *reading* the *ſcriptures*. This was once thought a matter of *ſome conſequence*; and it might be wiſhed, indeed, that thoſe ladies who *have*, and thoſe who *have not* read the bible ſince they were children, or thoſe who never read it at all, would *tax* their time, and *read* one chapter *before tea*, in the *afternoon*, with the ſame *attention* as they *pray before tea* in the *morning*.

morning. Upon my word I am *serious*; I mean exactly what I say: it is a miserable thing not to be *methodists* in any sense, but that of *regularly* living in a *perpetual dissipation*; for this seems to be a *wilder enthusiasm*, with regard to *present* pleasures, than *theirs* with respect to *future* joys; and of the two, one would chuse to be *mad*, in *thinking* we felt the *sensible operations* of the spirit of *God*, than in being *sure* that we feel a *spirit*—by no means consistent with a *religious life*, was it only for the *hurry* and *noise* attending it. If we observe *no method* with regard to time, or *a very bad one*, I am afraid we shall give a very sad account of it.

If *fame* is not a *lyar*, the most sensible part of your sex are heartily sick of following the *laborious idleness* of modern visiting, though very few have virtue enough to correct themselves. Can there be a greater impertinence, than for a woman of *sense* and *breeding*, to spend whole evenings in rumbling over a *vile pavement*, to knock at doors where she does not desire to be admitted, nor cares if she never

ver ſees the inhabitant? *Pride* is ſaid to be the guardian of your ſex; I wonder you are not more under its influence. What a meanneſs is it to attempt making a viſit, which you are ſenſible will not be welcome! The abſurdity is carried ſo far, that you agree to ſupport the *farce* of viſiting without *meeting*; and one lady ſhall be another's viſitor, who hardly knows her face. Is it impoſſible to ſupport a *decent regard* to acquaintance, without enlarging the ſcene of your viſits beyond the compaſs of human induſtry, was viſiting the *ſole* employment of your lives?

We all know, however, that there are certain appointed times, when you are ſure of finding your friends at home: then it is that doors are thrown open to ſuch a *crowd*, we may well call them an *undiſtinguiſhed*, I muſt not preſume to ſay an *undiſtinguiſhing multitude*. What is this but a well-cloathed mob, where each is entitled to a place at a *card-table*? What a proſtitution is this of the dignity of a rational being! To preſerve our honor, and thus to

ſquander

ſquander our time, if it is not an abſolute *contradiction*, is being but *half* virtuous.

I am no enemy to *ſocial* pleaſures: what grieves me, is to ſee the *reality* of the thing proſtituted to the *name* of it. Social pleaſures are *deſtroyed*, unleſs you call thoſe meetings by that name, where there is much *buſtle*, and exchange of crowns or guineas, like a banker's ſhop, with hardly a poſſibility of diſcourſing. Nay, you corrupt the common air; by confining a great number of people in a ſmall compaſs, you make war with *nature*, as if you meant, under a notion of enjoying pleaſure in the higheſt taſte, not only to give a *mortal* wound to *pleaſure*, but even to *life* itſelf. It is not that cards in themſelves are leſs inſtruments of amuſement than a *ball*, or a *horſe-race*, but the *manner* of playing; the continual application to cards; the omiſſion of the many duties they occaſion; theſe are the objects of my complaint, and I wiſh I was *ſingular* in my opinion.

Thus the ſpirits of moſt *genteel* females, and I muſt confeſs, of many *fine* gentlemen alſo,

are

are in one continued ſtate of *diſſipation.* Like a ſoldier, whoſe thoughts of *death* are baniſhed, by his acting in a *crowd*, yours are put into a ſtate totally unfit for the diſcharge of the important duties of life by the ſame means. If this is not the caſe with *all*, ſo many enter the *liſt*, as may well draw tears from the eyes of the *thoughtful* few. Hence it ariſes, that your very exiſtence is rendered *irkſome:* you are but *half* alive in the abſence of a *great company:* you look forward, and meaſure how long you are morally ſure of *living*, by the days you are engaged to meet *parties.* Indeed you are ſo far happy, that you are ſure of attending a *rout*, or other entertainment, under ſuch a *pretty* denomination, from the day you leave off *leading-ſtrings*, till the *bell* gives notice that your *ſoul* is *departed.* Is this painting too ſtrong? I have no pen to deſcribe half the abſurdities of *modern viſiting*, or the evils which attend it.

Pardon

Pardon me, *Madam*, I do not mean that *you* are *worſe* than your neighbors: you are more ſenſible of the evil than many ladies of my acquaintance; but I am ſure there is no woman of *virtue* and *common ſenſe*, who brings this buſineſs *home*, but muſt ſee that I have not greatly miſtaken the caſe: and indeed, how is it poſſible that ſhe can get wiſdom who abhorreth books; who glorieth in diſſipation; who driveth about to ſilk and china ſhops; who is occupied in *routs*, and whoſe talk is of *dreſs* and *maſquerades*?

Do I write as if I had nothing to hope or fear from any of you? It would be an arrogant contempt of your prerogative; an abſolute rebellion againſt your *empire* in the world. But if I hold up a mirror to ſhew you your *follies*, it is in hopes you will diſcover and cheriſh your *virtues*. When you are ſenſible of the advantages you enjoy from nature; from the laws of your country; and the happineſs of our conſtitution, you will ſee that a judicious education might enable you to enlarge the *ſcene* of your pleaſures, and, by adding many which

which are rational, carry them to the height of all earthly felicity. Nor is it to this world I would confine your expectations: I wish to see you fired with the glorious ambition of obtaining the seats of *saints* and *angels!* But, upon my word, it does not appear to me, that the *ladies* of this country, are, at present, taking the right method to arrive at either. I need not say more; your own hearts will tell you the rest. *Farewel.*

LETTER XXVII.

To the same.

MADAM,

I AM very far from dispairing, that many who are now alive, will see the empire of *tea* dissolved, and the dominion of *routs* overturned. My hopes are founded not more in the changeable temper of my country-women, than in my opinion of their good sense, of which the women of no nation have a greater share:

share: the first often leads you to take up *bad* customs, and the last sets you right again. We are, in general, a wayward people, impatient of having our humor checked, and too self-indulgent to abstain from pleasing gratifications, be they ever so hurtful: but in such cases as this, a few good female politicians, whether they act from *whim* or *principle*, can perform *wonders*.

In the mean while I am told, you see I forget nothing that is for your service, that a certain *monstrous part of your dress*, which had long prevailed in spite of the plainest dictates of *common sense*, is losing ground, if not going out of fashion. But whilst you do yourselves honor in bidding fair to abandon one rank absurdity, you adopt another, not so inconvenient and dangerous to *health*, but extremely *expensive* and *ridiculous*; and so much the worse, as it is copied from *France*. "Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh!" The greater the *necessities* of the public, the more *prodigality* in private life! Is it not true, *Madam*, that hardly a chamber-maid now thinks

thinks her condition supportable, unless she cuts more silk to pieces to adorn her gown, than would be sufficient to make one? And for what is all this? methinks you all appear like women of shreds; instead of ornaments, your garments look as if they were in rags. Is this extravagance most melancholy to think of, or most ridiculous to behold? It is a *sample* of the times: begin however with discouraging the use of tea, and we may live in hopes you will soon correct yourselves, and act in all respects like *rational* creatures. I verily believe you must do it 'ere long from necessity; but it will be more for your honor if it is done from choice, and with a view to save your country from *ruin!*

If you act with *consistency* you will of course strive to correct the *enormous* abuses, and the puerile fashions I have mentioned: you will compassionate the *great* as well as the *little* vulgar; you will teach them to mend *their ways*, and help to reform an *idle world*. *Adieu.* I am yours, *&c.*

PART

PART VI.

The duty of good subjects with regard to the public debt. Parsimony the best remedy against augmenting the public debt. Additional taxes for the current service. Means of raising an additional tax for the current service. Conclusion and recapitulation.

LETTER XXVIII.

To Mrs. O******.

MADAM,

YOU will easily perceive that this *treatise* upon *tea* is really a dissertation on *public love.* —— Perhaps I detain you from the pursuit of more lively pleasures, and I beg

your pardon; but I cannot lay aſide my pen without ſome reflections on our preſent ſituation, with regard to the *public debt*, to which I beg your ſerious attention: the conſideration of it is more cloſely connected with my ſubject than you are aware of, and you as well as many thouſands beſides, are deeply intereſted in it: indeed this in a great meaſure checks the ſtrength and power of this nation, in which we have all no trivial intereſt!

Men of melancholy or diſcontented minds, think our proſpect is gloomy; and ſo do ſome who are neither melancholy nor diſcontented: but if we exert our natural ſtrength, if we employ the *means* which Providence has put into our hands, the clouds are diſpelled, the proſpect brightens, and we look forward with joyful expectations to remoteſt poſterity. We muſt remember, at the ſame time, that virtue is the baſis of happineſs to nations as well as to private men; and altho' this is one of the great truths which many of us will neither hear, nor ſee, we muſt *correct* ourſelves, we muſt *mend* our ways, or to all human appearance

ance we ſhall be undone in good earneſt! our poverty, as a ſtate, already ſtares us in the face, and grows importunate for relief.

Whether the oppulence and reputation of this nation would have riſen ſo high, had no *debt* been contracted, is a queſtion more difficult to anſwer than many imagine. But whether we ſhould be in a better condition than we are now, was there no debt in the caſe, anſwers itſelf. It is not diſputed that we have increaſed in commerce, and improved in many other national advantages, ſince the firſt contracting this debt; but *other nations* are improved alſo. I apprehend alſo that *we* have increaſed in corruption and wickedneſs, and have made ſo bad a *uſe* of our *advantages*, that theſe may ſoon become the very cauſe of our undoing.

There is ſome merit in *public* concerns, as well as in the *private* affairs of life, in ſeeking for reaſons to make a *virtue* of *neceſſity*, and to diſcover motives to render that *eaſy* which is *unavoidable*. If by means of the debt, we could maintain a *mutual dependance*, ſufficient to counterpoiſe a *vicious ſelfiſhneſs*; and like-

wiſe promote the comfort and eaſe of ſuch individuals, whoſe ſituation will hardly admit of any better manner of being ſupported, than by receiving intereſt of their money from the public, a moderate *ſtanding* debt might do us no greater harm than a moderate *ſtanding* army. If the former is leſs eaſy to pay off, than the latter to diſband, it does not follow that either one or the other will ruin us. But whilſt we have ſo many drains for our gold and ſilver, and indeed for every other ſpecies of wealth, the ſum annually due to foreigners, for the *intereſt* of the money we have borrowed of *them*, is a formidable object to us. Yet formidable as it is, even this has ſome advantages alſo; ſuch connexions create a dependance; they help to faſten the bonds of union, and to ſupport the *being* of ſtates, if not the *welfare of nations*, upon the ſolid foundation of mutual intereſts.

It would be abſurd to entertain a thought of paying off any part of our debt, during a war; but we ought, if poſſible, to *endevor* to prevent the increaſe of it. This may appear as a romantic enter-

enterprize, 'till we consider that the only way to preserve ourselves, even for the present, is to guard against future evils. I do not think that pestilence or earthquakes are absolutely necessary to awaken us; nor has war ever been recommended to improve the good sense or morals of a people; but if distress alone can render us virtuous, it may be instrumental to the opening our eyes, with regard to our *political* interest, if it goes no farther.

Notwithstanding what some politicians assert; if there is a *God* who directs the affairs of mankind; if he abhors falshood, it cannot be *true* policy to proceed, as we have done for many a long year, on principles which are not founded in truth. What consolation is it, that the errors and misconducts of nations, in their national capacity, are punishable by temporal evils? The distinction of public and private, in this case, is so nice, that one hardly sees the difference: and are not temporal evils, the evils we most dread? But if we become so weak as to plead a *political* necessity for doing that which may involve individuals in di-

ſtreſs; thoſe who are induced by vain notions of policy, to act in plain oppoſition to morality, and are inſtrumental to ſuch diſtreſs, we may conclude *their* puniſhment will not be merely temporal. There is vengeance in heaven for ſuch offences. The plea of *cuſtom* will never deſtroy the difference of *good* and *evil.*

Some think they have made wonderful diſcoveries, and tell us that miniſters of ſtate calculate much on the *vices*, but very little on the *virtues* of a people. A wiſe miniſter will certainly not calculate upon virtues which do not exiſt: but we ſee that truth ſtill maintains its empire in the world: and there are times, eſpecially in great extremities, when it darts ſuch beams of light, that even wicked men are compelled to confeſs its power, and adore the *God* from whom it flows.

We muſt grant that mankind are governed more by their *paſſions* than by their *reaſon*; and it follows, from that very cauſe, that a ſkilful miniſter will obſerve which are the paſſions moſt prevalent in the minds of a people,

people, either in the ordinary courſe of their lives, or as they are affected under particular circumſtances. —— The love of money, whether it regards the raging thirſt of avarice, or the feveriſh habit of luxury, is apt to grow into a paſſion. In neither of theſe caſes, will a *free* people, in the *gaiety* or *zeal* of the heart, be induced to give any conſiderable part of their riches, never to receive either *principal* or *intereſt*. So long as they think the *firſt* can be ſecured to them, and their children; and that the *laſt* will remain as a *conſtant* revenue for their own lives, it muſt be expected that they will be tenacious. But becauſe they are *free*, if once their eyes are opened, and they ſee themſelves in *danger*, the ruling paſſion will prevail, and they will ſhew a greater love for their liberty, than for their money.

The preſent object of *pleaſure*, or *pain*, indeed generally ſtrikes moſt forcibly. Hope, as it reſpects joys in reverſion, is a very ſtrong, as well as a very pleaſing paſſion: but *fear*, the fear of ſuffering the deprivation either of *fortune*, *liberty*, or *life*, will make a *deeper* im-

preſſion. Is it then abſurd to expect that theſe paſſions, co-operating with reaſon, and ſupported by the *legal claims* of the *people*, will produce the effect deſired? Could we once ſee miniſters ſtand up boldly, and ſtem the *torrent of corruption*, the people are not ſo abandoned as to make choice of the means of their own undoing. We muſt *compromiſe* this matter, for if we do not alter our *plan*, we ſhall be a bankrupt nation at laſt.

Let us be ſenſible, that it is dangerous for the ſtate to raiſe more money by *borrowing*, unleſs the *new debt* is to terminate at a certain time. Let us learn what our true ſituation is, with reſpect to the debt. Let us ſee clearly, that if the *debt* is increaſed, the *debtor* muſt become more and more unqualified to pay. To theſe conſiderations let us add well-grounded apprehenſions of the dangers and contingences of war; that there is an enemy near our very doors, who, if he is not repelled, will bring all into confuſion, and annul the debt; and if we do not *humble him*, that he will

will *humble us.* In this ſituation, is it not reaſonable to expect, that ſuch conſequences will be drawn from ſuch premiſes, as will conclude in the moſt *happy*, and moſt *effectual* ſupport of our country, upon *honeſt* principles?

Could we once be prevailed on to uſe our reaſon, and exert our virtue, and not act a childiſh, ſelfiſh part. Could we be induced to conſider what calamites mankind are ſubject to, and how to act under them, we ſhould entertain the warmeſt expectations of our own ſucceſs, if the trial was made at a proper ſeaſon.—If we had no proſpect of deriving any temporal advantages by decreaſing our debt, nor of preventing temporal evils by preventing the increaſe of it, I am afraid a ſenſe of moral obligation only, would not anſwer the purpoſe: and yet thoſe muſt be *ſtupid* as dirt, who do not diſcover that there is a duty to the public incumbent on them, the neglect of which muſt be attended with private and national evils, and conſequently that ſome regard is due to our fellow-ſubjects, who

who are the *public*, ſo far as they are the creditors in queſtion. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XXIX.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

YOU muſt be ſenſible, that notwithſtanding the great riches of this nation, the debt we labor under is a *ponderous burden.* Though the *principal* has been a little reduced ſince the late war, by means of the reduction of intereſt, yet the laſt ſtill devours near *one third* part of our revenues; and though we ſhould conduct ourſelves with great ſkill and circumſpection, ſuch a charge muſt circumſcribe our meaſures, with regard to *war*; and if we ſtill indulge a narrow *ſelfiſhneſs*, it may blaſt our blooming glories, and rob us of the means of obtaining a ſecure and honorable *peace.*

It

It has been a general received notion amongst political arithmeticians, that we may increase our national debt to *one hundred millions*; but they acknowledge that it must then cease by the debtor becoming *bankrupt*. It is plain, to the meanest observer, that the more the debt is increased, the greater the difficulty will be in paying off the least part of it. And I believe there is no considerate man who does not foresee, as clearly as any thing of this nature can be foreseen, that the debt must sink at last, if we go on mortgaging our possessions. If the object mortgaged were to fall into the hands of the *mortgagee*, as in reason it ought to do, the *mortgager* would then exert himself to pay off the debt: but the man of *land estate* foolishly and iniquitously flatters himself, that he is under no *greater* obligation than he who has *no land estate*, or indeed than he who has *no estate at all*; that is, that he is under *no obligation*. This is contrary to the nature of the *compact*, it being presumed that the public, for whose support the money was paid, being constituted of individuals, those individuals having

having borrowed this money do, upon the principles of common juſtice, ſtand bound to the lender. Nor is the nature of the thing altered in the leaſt, becauſe many are *debtors* for their proportion, who are alſo *creditors*. If my ſhare of the public debt comes to 500 *l.* if I have 5000 *l.* in the public funds, I am really a creditor of the public for no more than 4500 *l.* If this buſineſs were thus conſidered, we might ſee thoſe whoſe fortunes are in *money*, as well as thoſe who poſſeſs *land*, more forward to aſſiſt *the ſtate*, and more *anxious* to prevent the encreaſe of the debt.

If we do not ſtop at *ſeventy five*, or *eighty* millions, where *ſhall* we ſtop? If we go on to *ninety*, or a *hundred* millions, there will be the ſame reaſon, in caſe of war, to run ſtill *deeper* in debt. Though the object is already of ſuch vaſt importance, I hope it is not yet in the utmoſt danger; nor the plea of *neceſſity* ſuch as will ſuperſede a ſenſe of moral obligation, with regard to the *right* of individuals. But if the *people and miniſters throw off all ſenſe of duty to God and their country*; or

if

if ever the debt reaches to ninety, or a hundred millions, *at a time of war*, the nation will ſink under the burden, and even *honeſt* meaſures, will not prevent the *neceſſity* of throwing it off. It is a leſs evil that *fifty thouſand* ſubjects ſhould be reduced to *beggary*, than nine millions of people receive the law from an *enemy*, and with the ſubverſion of their conſtitution, give up their *liberty* and *religion*. If we reſolve, *in due time*, we may eaſily avoid *both* theſe calamities. It is no trivial concern, and I ſhall think it a happy preſage of the favor of heaven to this nation, if we enter early into the *ſerious* conſideration of it.

We are not ſure we ſhall be *able* to run deeper in debt, to provide for the exigences of the ſtate. There is too much reaſon to believe that men, in private life, are generally overtaken in their *ſins*, though they *intend* to repent; ſo we may eaſily commit a fatal error in calculation, if we indulge ourſelves in the crime of *procraſtinating* the conſideration of the *public* welfare. It is hard to ſay what

ſums

ſums we ſhall be *able* to borrow; but the queſtion is, if it will not be greatly for the advantage of the proprietors of the public funds, to anticipate the general intentions of the legiſlature, for the ſafety of the nation; and even to importune their *repreſentatives*, for the *liberty* of paying their *quota's* annually, for the *current* ſervice, or at leaſt in *aid* of it, excluſive of the preſent taxes?

Is it poſſible the people in *general* can be ignorant that it is their *intereſt* to ſubmit to heavy taxes, rather than leave the nation unprovided with *great fleets*, and *great armies*? Every man of a landed eſtate muſt ſee, that if we are beaten, and driven out of our trade, his land will become of ſo much leſs value. Where commerce does not floriſh, there land will be worth but little to the owner. Nor can the proprietors of the funds, in *particular*, be inſenſible of the danger of plunging their debtor ſo deep, that it may be impoſſible to *emerge*. Is it not more eligible to *give* fifteen or twenty millions extraordinary, if the

ſtate

ſtate ſhould, in the courſe of four or five years, require ſo much, if by this means we can ſecure *eighty millions*, than *lend* fifteen or twenty at the great hazard of loſing *ninety* or an *hundred* millions? Beſides, the *value* of the *eighty* will be more than equal to the *hundred*; for by preventing the increaſe of the debt, we prevent the increaſe of taxes for payment of the intereſt on ſuch debt, whilſt every thing we *conſume* will be *cheap*, in proportion as the taxes in general are *light*.

When *propoſitions* of an important nature are treated in a trifling manner, it muſt give pain to every thinking man: it ſeems to prove that we are determined to exert our *ingenuity* to *deceive*, and to *undo* ourſelves. I am aſhamed to hear ſome men, of reputed underſtanding, talk wantonly, and contradict themſelves. They tell us, "the ſum of eighty millions, at "three per cent. intereſt, is really no greater "a *debt* than forty millions at ſix per cent."; and yet they confeſs that the debt is too large, and that *part* of it ought to be paid off as ſoon as poſſible. They ſay further, "if the ſtate

"ſhould

" ſhould be ever neceſſitated to make uſe of " the intereſt of this money, the *principal* will " probably ceaſe to be of any value". Surely then the *greater* the principal is, the *greater* muſt be the ſufferings of thoſe who loſe it: or the more *intereſt* there is to pay, the more precarious ſuch intereſt will become. When we paid ſix per cent. per annum for money, it was often ſaid, " if we come to owe ſixty " millions we ſhall be undone"; indeed the intereſt, at that rate, would have *eaten* up the nation, and yet we ſeem now to be in a very bad ſituation.

I will endevor to keep within the compaſs of what I comprehend: I have no inclination to enter into a detail of all the *evils* that *may* befal us on account of this debt, nor of thoſe which *have* befallen us already on this account.

It is the cuſtom of mankind to have but little reverence for what they clearly underſtand. Our debt is involved in *myſtery* to thoſe who will not give themſelves the trouble to think about it: and the reaſon of this is, that a right comprehenſion of the caſe may open their eyes

againſt

against their *will*; it may oblige them to *reduce their expences*, and therefore they *will not* be undeceived.

Abstracted from all *party-influence*, private opinion, or favorite passion, let us consider it calmly, and we shall soon discover very great *danger* if we increase our debt; we ought therefore to use *extraordinary*, though not *illegal* methods to raise money: and let us do it whilst our circumstances will admit of *thinking* coolly and deliberately. Men are apt to see things in different lights, at different times: let us not trust ourselves in what manner we shall *think* or *act* under a *pressing* necessity. "Lead us not into temptation," ought to be our prayer in *political*, as well as *religious* concerns.

The causes which have prevented our paying off any considerable sums in time of *peace*, seem to make strongly, if it can be prevented, against *increasing* the debt in time of *war*. Amongst various motives which have occasioned an indifference to what amount this debt is carried, some have reasoned themselves into a

 belief,

belief, that they ſhould be *undone*, if they were under a neceſſity of receiving their money; and imagine, the *deeper* the public is in debt, the *better* ſecurity they ſhall have of its *remaining* their debtor: and in *one* ſenſe they are certainly in the right.

It has been alſo thought a *myſtery*, if eighty millions were paid off, how the proprietors of the money could diſpoſe of it. People reaſon as if the *whole* would be paid into the hands of individuals in *gold* and *ſilver*. As there is *now* no *borrower* without a *lender*, nor *ſeller* without a *buyer*, they apprehend that ſeventy or eighty millions of money would become a *dead ſtock on hand*. They do not conſider that there would not be a ſingle ſhilling more money in the nation than there is, though the ſums *depoſited* in the bank might *circulate*. Eighty millions is about *one tenth* part of the computed value of our national ſtock; and though for the very reaſon that great *convenience* accrues to *many*, by having their money in the public funds, *many* might ſuffer *inconveniences*, for a time, by its being paid into their hands;

hands; yet it is obvious, that as private men, be their fortunes ever so large, where induſtry, ſkill, and commerce are encouraged, employ their money; a greater number of people, under the ſame circumſtances, may keep their whole ſtock in motion alſo, though with ſome change of objects.

If the debt was paid off, money would be at a *cheaper* intereſt to individuals; thoſe who now pay *five*, might obtain it for *three* per cent. conſequently more money would be thrown into trade, notwithſtanding it is imagined there is already too much. Debts would be paid off by *lords* and *gentlemen*, which are *now* tranſmitted down as an incumbrance on their poſterity. *Houſes* would be built, which have *now* no exiſtence, not even in imagination. Arts and mechanics, of every kind, would be encouraged more. *New* kinds of induſtry, and new employment would ariſe. Our *lands* would be more improved and cultivated. All conſumptions would be *cheaper*, becauſe the *taxes* which now raiſe two and a half millions for the payment of *intereſt*, would be annihi-

lated. Who can doubt that we ſhould, upon the whole, be a much *happier*, and indeed a much *freer* people!

But as this event is at a great diſtance, we may purſue our plan for preventing the increaſe of the debt, without loſing a moment's time about what part ſhall be paid off, or when. I am ſuppoſing a *war*, and that it will call for large ſupplies; and I take for granted, of the *two evils*, the *leaſt* is to prevent the augmentation of the debt, by raiſing money for the *annual current ſervice* within the year: or by ſome method of raiſing money on *lives*, which may not affect the *old ſtocks*. It is now a long time that we have continued to *raiſe contributions* on the ſtate, by the large ſums we have received in *intereſt*, and our expences have been proportioned to our *income*: but we do not find that *private* vices are *public* benefits; for by this *expenſive* way of life, ſuch advantages have not reverted to the ſtate, as to *increaſe its power*, or even to enable it to ſupport itſelf on the *ſame plan*. On the contrary, the public is *poor*, therefore

we

we muſt *abridge* our *expences*, and *pay* contributions to the ſtate, inſtead of *receiving* them. If the ſtate is not relieved, it muſt be undone: and individuals will no longer be able to ſupport their affluence and ſplendor. Both muſt fall from that *pinnacle* of earthly felicity to which it has pleaſed heaven to exalt us.

Whether you eſteem my advice or not, you muſt acknowledge, that *neceſſity* is the mother of *invention:* it teaches us to call forth *our* virtues, and to exerciſe our paſſions in the *nobleſt* manner: it inſtructs the *politician* to agree with the *divine,* in the *practice* as well as in the *theory* of *virtue:* in a word, it points out to us how to recover the vigor of our conſtitution, and to regain our reputation as a wiſe and virtuous people.

Let us liſten to the voice of *reaſon*; and if we do *bleed,* grant, *O gracious heaven,* our blood may not be ſpilt in vain! What could a meſſenger from heaven, with all the energy of ſeraphic zeal, do more than addreſs himſelf to our *reaſon?* Shall we not be induced to act *fairly* and *honeſtly* towards each other? Ought

not all parties to *unite* for their mutual defence, to ſupport the ſtate in the moſt effectual manner, without *augmenting* the debt? Thoſe who have property in the public funds, ought to think of preſerving *themſelves*; and thoſe who have *no* property there, muſt act from the common love of *juſtice*, of their *friends*, and of their *country*. In the preſent method of borrowing of *money'd men*, we ſeem to act as an unſkilful *phyſician* towards his *patient*, who, requiring a vein to be opened, to let out a *proper quantity* of blood in order to his cure, only pricks him with needles; and though as much blood iſſues as prevents his immediate death, yet there is no proſpect of recovery from a malignant fever, or any chance of removing the morbid humor which preys upon him.

But methinks I hear a *funding politician*, with a ſolemn voice pronounce, "Sir, you "write like an *honeſt* man; but you do not *un-* "*derſtand* the ſtate of your own country; your "*remedy* is worſe than the *diſeaſe*: it will put "things out of their courſe: let us get *out* of "the quarrel, or not get *into* it, or we muſt

"*borrow*:

" *borrow: loans*, and the *sinking fund*, will " answer all the purposes of the state: we " shall, *in good time*, pay off as much of the " debt as is necessary, without the trial of such " expedients as yours, to which the people " have not *riches*, or at least not *virtue* enough " to submit".

This is an argument of some weight, but it takes too much for granted. It supposes no *war*, or no *necessity* of money arising from such war: or that the *old way* of borrowing will still answer for *ten*, or *twenty*, or *thirty millions* more. I argue from a persuasion that war will happen; that money will be wanted; that it *ought* not to be raised by further *loans*; and that it *cannot* be raised by such loans, without creating a *disease* worse than the *remedy* proposed.

Experience seems to point out to us, that seventy-five or eighty millions is the most we can bear; and that the surest method, as I have observed, to diminish our debt in time of *peace*, is to prevent the increase of it during a *war*. This *generation* will not pass through life, without

ſome *fear* and *anxiety*, if we pay off only a *million*, or *half a million* annually in time of peace, *we*, or *poſterity*, muſt ſuffer extremely, if we increaſe it by *tens of millions* in time of war.

Beſides, if a *high* intereſt is given for money, the greater will be the *evil*; and for a *low* intereſt, ſubjects *will* not *lend*. To borrow by compulſion implies a contradiction: but to *demand* money of the people for their ſupport, is the buſineſs of a wiſe government. There was a period when we *began* to borrow; and as "there is a time for all things," I hope the ſeaſon is come to make an *end* of borrowing. In time of *danger* men are generally diſpoſed to *ſuccour* each other: but what ſuccour will it be to *lend* money to the ſtate, under a *preſſing* exigency, to *oppreſs* and *diſtreſs* it when that exigency is paſt? Under a notion of generoſity and public love, we may ungenerouſly ſeek the ruin of our country, by the loans of a few, inſtead of the contributions of many. Nor will it be ſufficient to diſpute by what means we owe ſo much: the great point is to provide for our preſent ſupport.

Poli-

Political arithmeticians may refine on *ways* and *means* 'till they are at their *wits-end*, but this seems to be a clear proposition, that we must plunge ourselves *deeper into debt*, to the danger of losing a vast property to individuals; or individuals must contribute to the support of the state, in some shape or other, out of their yearly incomes. If such incomes *exceed* our annual expence, the additional tax in question will be *no burden:* and if they do *not* exceed, we must abridge our expences.

If the *thoughtless* luxurious man, or the *selfish* unthinking woman, is startled and confounded at the mention of their paying, supposing *fifty* pounds out of *five hundred*, when their *extravagances* call for *five hundred more*, let them turn the *perspective*, and look on the *scene* which presents itself to them. Let them reverse the argument, and ask themselves, how they will support themselves if they are plunged into *poverty?* Reason and common sense tell us, that it is impious to complain of *providence*, that we have not *five* dishes of meat on our table; but it is a *miserable thing* not to have

have any food to eat. Such has been the caſe of thoſe who are prodigal in private life: ſuch may be the fate of many who are not prodigal, if they neglect the means of their own preſervation.

If a *tenth* part of this iſland was tributary to the *French*, what numbers would *hazard* their *lives* to repel them? And ſhall we not make the ſmall ſacrifice of *retrenching* our expences, with a view to preſerve a *tenth* part of the property of our fellow-ſubjects? Will this generation leave their annals ſtained with ſo foul a blot as to neglect it? Can we anſwer it before *God?* Is not every individual, who ſees and comprehends a *propoſition*, to be *good*, good for his *country*, good to *individuals*, good *upon the whole*, anſwerable to *God*, as well as his country, if he with-holds his aſſent to it? Shall we run the riſk of reducing ſo great a number of our fellow-ſubjects to a worſe condition than they might think themſelves in, under the moſt arbitrary government?

We have ſeen in a late inſtance, how much the *ſpirit* of *benevolence* actuates men, where motives

motives of common intereſt are joined with thoſe of *humanity*. Of all the various diſtreſſes created by the tremendous earthquake at *Liſbon*, we do not hear of one ſingle merchant or trader, native or foreigner, who has taken the advantage of the laws to enter into any proſecutions to the deſtruction of his neighbor. We ſee that the good ſenſe and humanity of theſe trading people, and their juſt apprehenſions of common advantages, ariſing from a general ſupport of a particular community, reſtrain them from any meaſures deſtructive of their fellow-citizens. I hope this *nation* will never depart from ſuch principles, nor adopt a *doctrine*, as ſome private perſons have done in their writings and diſcourſe, as if *national policy* ought to predominate, and that *moral* obligation is out of the queſtion; taking it for granted, in this caſe, that the community in general would derive great advantages from the ſufferings of *individuals*. Whether they are *ſerious* in this argument, or not, we ought to guard againſt the evils which may *really* happen.

As

As a free people, we maintain the rights and properties of every member of the community. The time was when we engaged in a bloody war, for the ſake of a few individuals, founded, perhaps, upon a *well-told tale*, which by touching our *native generoſity*, rouſed us to arms, though we were ſure it would coſt us *millions* of money, and a great effuſion of *blood*. And ſhall we now act ſo inconſiſtently with our character, as to neglect the *means* of ſupporting ſo many thouſands of our fellow-ſubjects, and God only knows, with them we may well include ourſelves, that is, the *whole community*.

Do we maintain, that it is *better* for us to run the *greater* hazard of thouſands being involved in ruin, with all the dreadful conſequences that may attend ſuch an event, than run the *ſmaller* riſk of the evils which will probably attend the ſeveral attempts to change the old ſyſtem of running in debt? If the people are determined it *ſhall* ſucceed, it *will* ſucceed. It muſt be granted, if *ſuch attempts* ſhould not prevail, the ſtate will *ſuffer*, that is, the

the people will ſuffer, by expoſing their own *weakneſs*, or their *irreſolution* in not doing that which is ſo expedient to be done. But what can *ſuch ſufferings* amount to? They will ſhew the danger of the *final* iſſue of running in debt in the ſtronger light? If it is urged, that *without* making the *trial*, we can fairly and clearly diſcover it to be *impracticable:* or if before we begin, the iſſues of a war ſhould be ſuch, as to render the *grand point* ſo important, as to afford no room even for the moſt ſalutary *experiments* of this kind: in ſuch caſe we muſt provide for the *immediate call*, and leave the reſt to *providence*, referring the trial of men's virtue and pecuniary abilities to a calmer hour, when the din of arms ceaſes to diſturb our repoſe. But I apprehend, when neceſſity comes like an armed man, then is the proper time to try.

Whatever the event may be, you are not to imagine *I am afraid*, for my own perſon: whether the ſhip ſinks or not, *I am but a paſſenger*; but methinks it would be *glorious* to have the *prophet*'s fate, if like him I could

ward

ward off the danger from others. *Security* is man's greateſt *enemy*: frequent events of my life have taught me to think ſo; and I cannot ſuppreſs my concern for the welfare of my country! *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XXX.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

MEN whoſe minds are formed to a reliſh of the great concerns of life, ſuch as regard the *welfare* of their *fellow-creatures*, or the *happineſs* of their *fellow-ſubjects*, will ever attend to the *political ſtate* of their country: but to make ſuch ſpeculations conducive to the end propoſed, we muſt bring them home, and adapt them to particular times and circumſtances; and ſuppoſing they happen to be of no uſe to the public, it cannot be ſaid the time is loſt to the individual, with regard to his attempt to do good to ſociety. If men of the greateſt

probity

probity and experience are often divided in their opinions, those who have not such opportunities of knowledge, may be easily acquitted, if, in their honest researches, they mistake the true interest of their fellow-subjects.

Politicians, like other men, often take principles for granted, which are not true, and consequently the whole fabric of reasoning which is built on them falls to the ground: and *scriblers* of every denomination are as apt to grow enamoured of their *thoughts*, and blind to the defects of them; but still the native integrity of the mind ever leads us to desire, if not to practice, what we think is good. *Knaves*, as well as men of probity, in private, as well as in public life, intrude their thoughts upon us, but we are more indebted for our freedom, to the *liberty of the press*, than almost to any other circumstance. It is true, mercenary writers, or enemies to truth, often *abuse* this liberty, but it is not the less *valuable* to *honest* men who *support* it.

Nor are we to condemn hastily: every day's experience proves, that things which once appeared

peared romantic and impracticable, are really carried into execution. Opportunity makes the *philoſopher*, the *politician*, the *ſoldier*, and the *good ſubject*, as well as the *knave*; nor do we know our own ſtrength till we are put to the trial. It is a great point gained to know what is *right* to be done: but I am ſenſible it is not enough to be in the right, unleſs we are ſo *in time*; nor to plan good projects unleſs abilities are found to execute them. Whilſt men are governed ſo much by fancy and opinion, and make themſelves the ſlaves of their favorite paſſions, it is impoſſible to *reaſon* them into *acting right*; yet ſtill the power of perſuaſion is great, and a judicious mixture of it, joined to motives of intereſt, I mean intereſt derived from conſiderations of *publick good*, ſometimes operate in a wonderful manner.

Our preſent ſituation requires great ſkill and vigilance, with *able heads*, and *active hands*. Our misfortunes, as thoſe of ages paſt have often done, ariſe in ſome degree from national pride: in the height of our enjoyments, we do not diſcover danger 'till it is at our very doors,

doors, or we treat it as a ministerial bugbear. And as with regard to moral duties, we forget the uncertainty of life, so in a political view of things, we do not consider that *liberty*, *wealth*, and *power*, are precarious things, and subject to many and great changes and revolutions.

Nations as well as *individuals* being vain, and flatterers of themselves, seldom form a true idea of their own *numbers* and *riches*, or in other words of their strength. The *French* pretend they have eighteen millions of people; 'tis well if they have twelve, and they have a vast extent of dominion, and an arbitrary government, which must be supported by a military force, or by means of numerous armies. Our government not being arbitrary, and our frontier the water, though we have a great extent of it, does not require so many men in arms. We have often reckoned *nine* millions of souls in *England* only; but we generally deceive ourselves in such calculations: I suppose however we may safely compute the number of people in all *Great Britain* to be eight, or at least seven *millions*

and half. The annual expence at which they live of late years, can hardly be reckoned leſs than *ſix pounds*, which amounts to forty five *millions*. Let us compute that the additional ſum which may be neceſſary to carry on a war, will be at leaſt four millions, which is near an eleventh part of our ſuppoſed income. Let this ſum be raiſed on heads, or houſes, or part of it on ſuch kinds of luxury as I mentioned in my twenty-ſecond letter; or by any other means which the wiſdom of the legiſlature may direct; in any caſe, to be able to pay ſuch an additional ſum, the *poor* muſt increaſe their labor; and the *rich* muſt decreaſe their expences. If the *rich* and *poor* go hand in hand, and aſſiſt each other, neither of them will be impoveriſhed by what the ſoldier or the ſailor, who are fighting for the good of the *whole* may conſume, if under *proper direction*.

We complain of heavy taxes, but many might fare ſumptuouſly on a quarter part of what they ſpend! And what do *we* ſuffer compared with the miſery and oppreſſion which

prevail

prevail under despotic governments in most parts of the world! Allowing for the incapacity of one part of the island to pay its due proportion, and also for the indigence of many of our laboring people, let us suppose that all persons who do not depend on manual labor, may accommodate themselves in time of war, to a *ninth* or an *eighth* part less expence than they now make. And what would be the consequence of this? Whilst we declined our *expensive* pleasures, and sent *cooks* to the army to prepare common food for the soldier; and *supernumerary* footmen as recruits: whilst the horses we could well spare, were sent to ease the laborious march, and the *musician* to elevate the *jovial mariner:* in whatever manner our luxury or pomp were abridged, we should nevertheless enjoy many pleasures, and even enlarge the scene of our rational delights. Those who were used to spend their time in squandering money, might be a little mortified; but what could we suffer in general, by these *trifling inconveniences*, compared with the calamities of an *unsuccessful war*; the effects of a *pre-*

carious peace; the annihilation of the property in the public debt; or, laſtly, the extinction of the *glory* of this nation, its *liberty?*

We are not yet reduced to any fatal extremity; but every thing that is dear to us, may 'ere long be at ſtake: and ſhall we not apply ourſelves to conſider maturely what is beſt to be done? If we do not extend our concern to *poſterity*, it will be impoſſible to exiſt long: it ſeems to be as true in political as in religious concerns, that the preſent, abſtracted from the future, cannot render us happy. "Let us eat "and drink, for to-morrow we die," is a maxim which can afford but ſlender conſolation to *individuals*, much leſs to a *nation*. Amidſt a profuſion of all the *neceſſaries*, and even the *luxuries* of life, ſhall we reaſon ourſelves into a belief, that we cannot abridge our expences; and chuſe to hazard *all* for ever, rather than forego *ſome* of the pleaſures of *luxury* for a ſhort time?

It ſeems to me, that whilſt the money is chiefly ſpent among ourſelves, we have reſources whence we can annually draw *four* or *five*

millions

millions more than the ordinary taxes: the great point is how to come at them. When a people are accustomed to pay, in a manner which for the most part is imperceptible; and already think they have gone as far as they can go in this way, will they still accommodate themselves to the payment of further and more considerable sums, in a more direct method? Will they submit to such augmentation in such a manner? —— If the augmentation is necessary, in what other manner can it be paid? I am now supposing, and I really *believe* what I tell you, that with oeconomy we are able to carry on a vigorous war: that without interfering with our old taxes, by an extraordinary encouragement of industry, we may keep up such a brisk circulation in every part of these kingdoms, that the money which the people pay in such additional tax, may speedily revert to them, in proportion as they make a claim to it for the produce of their labor.

Nothing can be more demonstrable, than that the *husbandman* and *manufacturer* must feed and clothe the *soldier* and the *sailor*. Pay

them for it, and they will do it chearfully, and in the iſſue as chearfully contribute their extraordinary labor towards the extraordinary charge of ſupporting war. What may not be done by the force of induſtry, where there is a fruitful ſoil to cultivate, and materials to manufacture? Does not the moſt tranſient thought of war include the idea of *extraordinary labor* as well as *uncommon hazard?* The *peaſant* may grumble, and ſo may the *lord*, but has not the *ſoldier* the moſt difficult part to act?

Whatever taxes are required they muſt be paid: and if ſuch inducements to labor are offered, as will keep people above *beggary*, is there any thing in this light to fear from *war?* If war is not attended with ſuch violence and oppreſſion on the ſubject, as prevents his induſtry, or cuts him off from the means of reaping the fruits of it, he will work; and as ſoon as he receives the price of his labor, he will pay his tax, and be ready to receive the ſame money again. New huſbandmen, and new manufacturers, will ſpring up from neceſſity. In urgent caſes which create a great

call

call for *men*, in some countries we even see *women* perform the drudgery of the field. Pray *God* this may be our case, rather than submit to an inglorious peace! It is far better to cook your own meat, as I have known some *great ladies* do occasionally, to *divert* themselves, and send your cook-maid to *till* your lands, than let master, mistress, and servant, receive the law from any power on earth.

Would you imagine that four millions of labouring people, men, women and children, at only a halfpenny a day for their *additional labor*, working three hundred days in a year, it amounts to *two millions and a half*? Perhaps we have not so great a number of people capable of labor; but many thousands of them can earn a penny, nay six-pence or a shilling a day extraordinary, if they please, and if we find them work. The great complaint of many masters is, that labor is so dear, a man may earn in three days what will support him the whole week; the consequence of which is, that the remainder of his time is spent in idleness or debauchery. I question if this be

ſo true as ſome repreſent it; but it is certain that *examples* of virtue among the rich are become very neceſſary, to encourage induſtry amongſt the poor. *Neceſſity will work wonders!* If from great *poverty* great *riches* ariſe, by the mere force of induſtry; ſurely *poverty* may be prevented by the ſame means.

What do we ſtand in need of from other countries to carry on war? Maſts from *Poland*, and oak plank from *Dantzic*; ſome additional quantities of iron from *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*; hemp and ſome flax from *Ruſſia*, and ſalt-petre from *India*. Except theſe few, we have all the neceſſaries for war within ourſelves. We can even make ſalt-petre upon an emergency; and we have lately revived the art of preparing buff-leather, which by negligence we had loſt for ſome ages. And here I muſt inform you, that we are obliged for this diſcovery, as we ſhall probably be for many others, to the late eſtabliſhed *ſociety* for the encouragement of *arts*, *manufactures*, and *commerce*.

If

If therefore we want so little from abroad, and can gain so much by additional labor at home, what have we to fear? But indeed this is not the only object: I have already urged, in my twenty-fourth letter on tea, the necessity of retrenching our *expences*, not only if we really mean to carry on a war, *but if we mean to be a free and independent people.* And what do you imagine the *saving* of *three-pence* a day, which is only £4 : 11 : 3 a year, for half a million of people, will amount to? 'Tis no less than £2,281,250. You see here how easily the sum of £4,781,250 might be saved and gained towards carrying on war, provided this sum be collected at an easy expence; and if we allow for what our former revenues may suffer, by any diminution of consumption, we may still call it above four millions.

In order to carry such a *plan* into execution, care must be taken, where money is scarce, to introduce it in greater quantities; and instead of *procrastinating* payments, to *anticipate* them. Money may thus circulate from private

vate hands to the public, and be returned to private hands again, every year. Some pretend we have yet a large currency in every county: I believe they are miſtaken; and if they are, it is as eaſy to be accounted for, as that we do not drink the tea of *China* without paying for it, in ſilver or gold, to the *Chineſe*, the *French*, the *Dutch*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Pruſſians*.

The general rule of eſtimating the prices of things, is by the quantity of money in a nation; and as moſt things are dear with us, compared to ſome other nations, therefore one might conclude that we have a great abundance of money. But I am afraid this is as little the *real* caſe, as that our numbers of inhabitants are increaſed with our increaſe of commerce. A great circulation of paper-currency, may make it appear as if we were rich in gold and ſilver, without being *really* ſo. But granting we have gold and ſilver enough for the preſent circulation, it does not follow that there will be enough in all places of the kingdom, if taxes are augmented for the ſupport

of

of a war. If paper is not so well received in remote counties, great part of the payments for what *they* supply, should be made in gold and silver coin, and as little of it drawn from thence as possible. Whether it were money, or paper-currency, so paid, it would soon revert to the public purse; but if the gold and silver coin already on the spot, or which may be afterwards paid, were drawn in large proportions out of such a county, there would be danger of stagnation. Without money the laborer will never work *chearfully:* there is a magic power in gold and silver: the brisk circulation of it is a great spur to industry, and therefore great care should be taken to make *quick payments* for what the inhabitants of such counties supply; but to procrastinate payments in the manner practised of late years in this nation, can end in nothing but shame, distress and ruin, in public as well as private concerns. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

To the ſame.

MADAM,

IF you was to tell your coachman to *drive* on before he had *put to his horſes*, might not one ſuppoſe you had *loſt your wits*. Let us firſt think of one *means*, at leaſt, to provide for the *current ſervice*, in the moſt effectual manner, and without diſtreſſing our fellow-ſubjects, before we calculate on the advantages of raiſing the ſupplies for ſuch ſervice in a direct view.

Plate is conſidered by many as an article of luxury, if it be ſo, it is juſt as uſeful to the ſtate, as the ſending ſilver out to purchaſe tea is hurtful; therefore I wonder that any duty on the making it was ever conſented to by the legiſlature. But if at any time it ſhould be neceſſary to know the riches of the king-

dom,

dom, in plate, and to raiſe a tax upon it for that purpoſe, we may conſider, that a halfpenny per ounce on twelve millions value, which I ſuppoſe to be near the real amount, at five ſhillings per ounce, would raiſe the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds. If it is adopted as a maxim, that whatever ſupplies become neceſſary, the people feel the burthen leſs by taxing articles of *conſumption*, that they may pay in ſuch a manner as is *imperceptible*, plate had better be conſidered as *ſpecie*, not taxed, but kept intirely as a body of reſerve for *emergencies*. But when ſuch emergencies happen, I ſee no more harm in converting the *richeſt plate* into *ſhillings*, than in altering the form of a fine garden, which my grandfather delighted in, and flattered himſelf that no future age could poſſibly exceed it in taſte. So far from deſtroying the ſpirit of trade and induſtry, though it may check this particular branch for a time, theſe changes will ſet the artificer to work with freſh vigor, when the neceſſity, for which it was taxed, ceaſes. And why may not the ingenious

genious manufacturer of *glaſs* or *porcelain* take his turn in furniſhing utenſils for the elegance and parade of the moſt ſplendid table? We may even garniſh glaſs or ebony, or porcelain with ſilver, without employing great quantities of it. There cannot be a more ridiculous ſuperſtition, than the preſerving a piece of ſilver in the ſhape it was left us by our forefathers, merely on that account; nor a greater abſurdity, in a commercial country, than to hoard up a dead article, unleſs it be as a reſerve in time of need.

If the good people of this iſland would open their eyes to their true intereſt, ſo far from being repugnant to the converting their *plate* into coin, if war ſhould render additional taxes neceſſary, and create a call for a greater circulation of money, than the preſent currency of the kingdom can bear, they ought to rejoice that they have ſuch a reſource. Were only half our plate to be coined, and if ſuch half amounts to no more than five or ſix millions, I am perſuaded it would put the people in a very good capacity of paying *three* or *four* millions

lions annually, for two or three years ſucceſſively, without any burthen; and the *moiety* taken *in time*, may anſwer a better purpoſe than a greater *portion* of it, when we are *preſſed hard*. By taking only half the quantity, *pieces* of *plate* of the moſt coſtly workmanſhip may be preſerved to the laſt, and thus we may make proviſion even for thoſe who have a fondneſs for *toys*, 'till being weaned by degrees, we may at length reſolve to look to the *main chance*, and not regard any minute conſideration.

If it pleaſes heaven to chaſtiſe us with the calamities of war for more than *three* or *four* years, which I truſt it will not, we muſt extend our calculation; but when you conſider ſeriouſly what the dangers of war are, let it be ever ſo well conducted, you will agree with me in opinion that nothing will afford a ſtronger proof of a *puerile* fondneſs of baubles, compared with the importance of the objects in queſtion; nor will any thing give a clearer demonſtration that we are *infatuated*, than being repug-

repugnant to coin our plate, ſhould a *vigorous proſecution* of war require it.

Silver has the pre-eminence of glaſs only from its *intrinſic value*; and the time I apprehend is near, when it may be neceſſary to ſhow it has a value ſuperior to *glaſs* or *porcelain*. We may change the form of many a maſſy heap and yet not ſtarve the ſilverſmith: but ſuppoſing he did ſuffer for a time, it will be made up to him afterwards; and ſhall we neglect the means of preventing the whole nation being involved in diſtreſs, for the ſake of a few ſilverſmiths?

We may *temporize*, and uſe *expedients* which ſeem more *gentle*, and more agreeable to the humor of the people; but I queſtion much if we ſhall really find any remedy ſo little *burthenſome*, or ſo *efficacious*. The *coining plate* may appear to individuals as no real acquiſition of wealth to them; yet with regard to the ſupport of a war, on which the welfare of thoſe individuals depends, it is to all intents and purpoſes as much a freſh *ſupply*, as if the

emperor

emperor of *China* was to return us ſo many millions in ſilver as we have, for ſome years paſt, ſent into his country for the purchaſe of the leaves of his *ſhrubs.*

If you aſk me "what impreſſions will be received by the ſovereigns of other kingdoms, whoſe opinion of our wealth may be the meaſure of their friendſhip?" I muſt obſerve, that the *richer* we appear, the *higher* will be the demands made on us for whatever aſſiſtance they give, and the more will *they* think of dividing the ſpoils of *our* country; and therefore inſtead of appearing richer, it is ſometimes the policy of ſtates not to appear ſo rich as they are: well-caſt iron, or tempered ſteel, will beſt anſwer our purpoſe for the preſent. *Coining our plate will certainly be one means to* open our eyes, *and of leading us gently into a leſs extravagant method of living.*

What could ſuch coinage prove more than this, that we had converted a vaſt quantity of ſilver into *utenſils,* and now thought it convenient to reconvert it into ſhillings? This has been done here in former reigns; it ſaved this

land no longer ſince than King *William*'s reign; and it has been practiſed in all the kingdoms of the world, upon particular occaſions. I am now arguing as if ſuch a ſtep will be really neceſſary; and I am perſuaded that this will be the moſt eaſy and familiar method to *invigorate* all our warlike meaſures, at the ſame time that its tendency will prevent a *deſtructive augmentation of the public debt.* It will be yet *more* happy, if we can find money by any means which ſhall demonſtrate the people's having a true ſenſe of their condition; and among theſe, tho' I do not like lotteries, yet there may be ſuch as will produce ſome *good* to the community, though not without a mixture of *evil.*

There is another circumſtance of the ſame tendency; but this requires great *private beneficence,* as well as *national policy.* Upon the principles I am now arguing, noblemen, gentlemen, and perſons of great property, ought to take their meaſures that the inhabitants of their reſpective counties, according to the ſituation and produce of them, may ſupply due proportions of what the *navy* and *army* re-

quire;

quire; not in the light of *jobbs*, to load the ſtate, which has long been an *infamous practice*, but really to enable the people to pay their taxes, and relieve the ſtate. Such vigorous ſteps in time of war, would, in a great meaſure anſwer all the good purpoſes of arbitrary power, without the *curſes* which generally attend it. Does this require a romantic height of virtue? a few men of *ſenſe* and *ſpirit*, in their counties, might put things in ſuch a method. *Virtue* and *ſenſe* it does require, more perhaps than has been *faſhionable* for ſome time paſt; but if the occaſion calls for ſuch virtue, ſhall we diſtruſt ourſelves? Shall we give up the very attempt? Shall we reaſon ourſelves into a belief that we are ten times more fooliſh and vicious than we really are?—Let us not grow *impatient:* thoſe who are ready to ſerve their country, muſt not be deficient in one of the moſt eſſential proofs of public-love. We are apt to complain of our fellow-ſubjects, when we want *reſolution*, *conſtancy*, and *perſeverance* ourſelves: when we meet a repulſe, we forget that it is an eſſen-

tial property of true courage to rally our forces.

But, *Madam*, if you reſolve to do ſomething that ſhall immortalize your name; if, in conſequence of any national meaſure, ſuch as I am now ſuppoſing, the laborious farmer, or induſtrious manufacturer of your town or village, ſhould be in any *diſtreſs*, *lend them money:* you will be repaid with ample intereſt; for if they are really *laborious* and *induſtrious*, they will ſet more hands to work, to enable themſelves, and thoſe they employ, by the force of *additional induſtry*, to pay their *additional tax*; and when this extraordinary demand ceaſes, if they do it not before, they will as certainly repay you. In the mean while you are doing one of the nobleſt acts of beneficence, and conſulting for the ſecurity of your property, even for generations to come. Do not deceive yourſelf; you muſt *fall* or *floriſh* with the ſtate. 'Tis criminal to think of building trophies to vanity on the ruins of other mens fortunes; nor in the iſſue will you be *able* to do it. The money we borrow

borrow we muſt *pay:* and you may eaſily perceive that there is much greater danger of *your* being *undone*, for want of power and energy in the *ſtate*, than from any *real incapacity* of individuals to ſupport it.

Thoſe who have common ſenſe muſt ſee this: thoſe who are honeſt will not heſitate to act on juſt principles: and thoſe who have any *love* for their children, will act the part of *tender* parents, and take proper meaſures to ſecure their poſſeſſions to them upon a ſolid foundation. And which do you imagine is the moſt *practicable means* to obtain this *end?* To increaſe the riches of the nation by inducing the laborer and mechanic to work a little *more*, and the rich to ſpend a little *leſs*; or to go on in the *ſame vile track of mortgaging your lands to foreigners?* You are ſenſible we owe already great ſums *abroad* as well as at *home*; and if the *public* is engaged, *you* are engaged. Let us act *honeſtly*; this is the *fair* ſtate of the caſe. Do you expect to remain in *ſecurity* and *affluence*, unleſs you make proviſion for that ſecurity and affluence? You muſt *pay*

thoſe who *fight* for you; and not leave thoſe who have lent their money to the public, expoſed to *want* and *miſery*. Our ſecurity is in the *valor* of ſailors and ſoldiers, and in the *means* of ſupporting them to repel our enemies.

Would to God that *ſome experiment* were *fairly* tried, that we might *ſee* if we have virtue and ſkill enough to *quicken* induſtry for the purpoſes I am now recommending; to *check* the growth of luxury; to reap the genuine fruits of ſuch induſtry, and, at the ſame time, promote the *cauſe* of liberty and religion; none of which are, or I believe ever will be, effected by our preſent method of *running in debt*. On the contrary, a loaded and diſtreſſed ſtate affords the ſtronger temptation to plunder the public; as great expences in private life are generally attended with great corruption. We barter the reverſion of heaven itſelf to gratify our vices; and, like a prodigal heir, ſell alſo the reverſion of our paternal inheritance: to pleaſe ourſelves, for the preſent moment, we

run

run the hazard of intailing ſlavery and penury on our deſcendants for ever.

This you will ſay is the *dark* ſide of the ſcene, and I grant it: but does it not exhibit a *darker* proſpect, to ſuppoſe a people have *no virtue* nor *common ſenſe?* Is not this a great *indignity* to ſome; and will it not *confirm* others in *folly* and *vice?* Mankind have a native greatneſs of ſoul, which may be wrought upon if proper means are employed. If the rich are taxed, in proportion to their *riches*, the *poor* will not deny their ſhare of *labor*, but concur in every *reaſonable* meaſure.

Obedience to the legiſlative power, is the foundation of government; and who is ſo ſtupid as not to know that the happineſs of every individual depends on the protection he receives, and the means he affords for the maintenance of that protection? If you tell me this is being too *abſtracted* for the apprehenſions of the vulgar, I aſk your pardon, I think an eaſy method may be uſed, not only to make them *comprehend* it, but to *ſubmit* to it alſo: at the ſame time I am ſenſible we muſt ſoothe the *fa-*

vorite paſſions, and *prevailing inclinations*, of a people. Even deſpotic princes are often obliged to have recourſe to the *gentle arts of perſuaſion*. A diſintereſted adminiſtration, ſuch as can give *proof* of their integrity, and mean to preſerve the public, not diſſipate the public treaſure to favor corruption, and enrich a *venal tribe* at all events: ſuch an adminiſtration will convince every *unprejudiced* perſon, and conſequently engage the confidence of the people, that the additional burthen which may be impoſed, is only for the ſupport of a *neceſſary war*, and with a view to *relieve* the people, when *peace* ſhall be reſtored? The great point is to *engage their confidence*, that they *mean* what they *ſay*, and will be true to their *word*.

And if the people are a little *impoveriſhed* by war, to *whom*, and of *what* would they complain? If we judge from what we ſee, *wars* are as unavoidable as *earthquakes*. A habit of *virtuous* induſtry will ſoon reſtore riches in time of *peace*: but no human wiſdom, in one ſtate only, can prevent wars. The *im-*

prove-

provements of nations, and the *wiſdom* as well as *folly* of adminiſtrations, will draw on *reſentments*, or excite the *avarice* of *ambitious* neighbors.

Men of reflexion ſoon balance in their thoughts, which of the two is the *greater evil*, though they do not always exert themſelves to act up to what they believe to be right in itſelf. If war muſt be ſupported, ſomething ſhould be done *ſoon* to prevent the augmentation of the debt, or *ſoon* or *late*, it certainly will *fall* under its own weight. Many of us now alive have ſeen a great national debt wiped out with a *ſpunge*, in an *arbitrary* country; and many thouſands ruined by a *South-ſea* dream in a *free ſtate*. We cannot determine what *evils* will attend our going farther in a road, which, to all human appearance, will terminate in *deſtruction*, with regard to the *debt* in queſtion. If we unite to *protect* every member of the community, we become *invincible*. *Virtue*, *courage*, and *liberty*, are inſeparable companions; and ſo are *vice*, *cowardice*, and *ſlavery*. But if we purſue meaſures deſtructive

tive of the public debt, we *diſunite*; we *violate* common juſtice; and without any real augmentation of our riches, we *rob* the *innocent*, *plunder* the *guiltleſs*, and intail *beggary* on thouſands.

The beſt aſſurance that we ſhall *conquer* our enemies *abroad*, is to *ſupport* ourſelves at *home*. Who that loves his country, will not exert himſelf for ſo generous a purpoſe? Who that wiſhes well to the governing part of the nation, will not be mortified to ſee miniſters involved in difficulties and diſtreſſes, for want of money? And if it ſhould ever happen that miniſters become *honeſt*, and mean nothing but the *public good*; if the people cry out for ſuch miniſters, and they are ſent to them as it were from *heaven*, how ſtrange a part ſhall we act, if we *oppoſe* them; by graſping at preſent lucre we invite our own perdition!

As to the encreaſe of our circulation by *coining plate*, who does not ſee the advantages of *quick* payments, and a *briſk* circulation, oppoſed to the calamitous effects of tardy payments? There is a neighboring

boring potentate, whoſe revenues are not large, and yet he ſupports a *vaſt army*, almoſt by the mere force of *punctuality*, and a *quick* circulation. This prince is an inſtance what great things can be done by the force of *oeconomy!* How ſmall a degree of *Pruſſian frugality* would reſtore this nation! *O liberty! can we pretend to offer incenſe at thy ſhrine, and thus violate the ſanctity of thy altars!* What a relief it would be to us in time of *war*, to be ſure of ſupplies by means which render the proſpect of *peace* delightful! But if we ſtill continue to *run in debt*, *peace*, muſt indeed, in ſpite of all her *charms*, look *ſad* and *gloomy*.

With regard to our *revenues*, it is reaſonable to believe that a *naval war* may be rendered ſupportable to us, even if we ſhould think it neceſſary to give *ſome* aſſiſtance to our allies, which probably muſt be the caſe. Every thing is *impoſſible* to thoſe who think it ſo: and, humanly ſpeaking, *nothing is impoſſible, when virtue, courage, ſkill, and induſtry, are employed to accompliſh it.* This is the way to *achieve* the *greateſt actions.*—Thoſe who are much abler to judge

judge of this matter than myself, may look *serious*, or *laugh*, but the *truth* does not seem to be *unfathomable* to common apprehensions. Whether those who *write*, or those who *harangue*, succeed in their *honest labors*, I hope heaven will assist us in doing that which is *best*. *Farewel.* I am yours, *&c.*

LETTER XXXII.

To the same.

MADAM,

THE *Spaniards* have a proverbial saying, that "there is but a quarter so "much *nobility* and *riches* in the world as men "talk of". Quality, or high blood, did once include the ideas of virtue, and of high sentiments of the dignity of human nature. How far it will hold at present, in this or any other country, I cannot precisely determine; for it seems as if the same *little passions*, and *mean in-*

inclinations, prevail with the *great*, as among the *little* vulgar.

I would not have you imagine I am writing in *despair*, that *my own sex* is lost to all sense of virtue, and therefore I pour out my heart to a *woman*. But, in good truth, *men* are now-a-days too busy, or too idle, too much engaged in pursuits of *gain*, or in pursuits of *pleasure*, to think much about their *country*, or even of their *God!* and therefore it is probable these reflections may make near as many *female*, as *male* proselytes. Be this as it may, *you* tempted me to write my *journal-letters*, and my own genius prompted me to add a *treatise on tea* *. If various avocations had not *divided* my *thoughts* and *time*, perhaps both one and the other might have been less *imperfect*: I find myself superior to any desire with relation to character as an *author*, though I can-

* The thoughts on tea, &c. were committed to writing with a design to be printed, after it was resolved, the journal-letters might be trusted to the world, to judge of as they pleased.

not

not curb my *inclination* to do good to my country and fellow-subjects.

You will perceive my syſtem of religion is not of the deſponding ſort, tho' the *political* view of our dear country ſeems to me very bad, and may ſoon be worſe. You will hear many ſay, "nothing but ſome very *great* ca-"lamity will open the eyes of this nation, and "render us pious and politic"! I apprehend indeed this cannot be done, unleſs we rouze from our *luxury*, and exert our good-ſenſe, and bravery, in the uſe of our natural and acquired advantages. We muſt exert our *virtue*, that virtue which is inſeparable from the true love of liberty; or, I think, we *muſt* bid a long *farewel* to all our *glory!* The *licentiouſneſs* which waits on *peace*, creates real diſtreſs: but the evils of war are more pungent; and loaded with accumulated calamities; and if *diſtreſs alone* can awaken our minds to a ſenſe of duty, war may be of ſervice to us, though it muſt be conſidered as a *deſperate remedy*, for a *deſperate diſeaſe*.

If a

If a fondness for what is called *pleasure*; if the gratifications of our *passions*, still continue to *allure* us from our *duty*, or deter us from even attempting to support the state upon any other principles than those of *vile corruption*, I solemnly believe some *great evil* will befal us: I think it cannot *possibly* be avoided! Are we *afraid* to amend what we *all* see to be *wrong*, though *all* of us do not discover it in the same degree? Is not this *inviting* our *ruin*, for fear it should come *unasked*?

Fame is but the breath of talkers; those who hope for immortality in a being superior to this, can with no propriety be *much* concerned, whether they are mentioned after death or not: and we are sure such men will be anxious for nothing, so much as to discharge their duty to *God* and their *country*. But heaven has *ordained* that the applause of our fellow-creatures should be some part of the *food* of virtue in this *transitory* state: and since the love of a good name is deeply implanted in the human heart, we must conclude

that

that heaven has ordained it for some wise end. The love of liberty and our country, whilst any sense of them remain, will render us *amiable* in the sight of each other; and the want of such love, especially when we feel the sad effects of it, will breed *horror* and *contempt* of each other.

He who wears in his breast the heart of a *man*, loves his fellow-creatures. But tho' he dares face *death*, he is still a *coward*, if he gives up the cause of *liberty* and his *country*? Can a man be entitled to the name of *honor*, and yet abandon the cause which his *office*, or his *conscience*, calls on him to defend? Can an *honest* man bear the thought of being followed to his grave with imprecations, or to be mentioned after death with *infamy*? Can any man pretend to be a *christian*, and hope for heaven, if he sacrifices his country to any *private* view? Who can *think* of these things, and not endevor to discountenance *immorality* and *corruption*, by all possible means! If we persist in that which is injurious to posterity, knowing it to be so, will not *after-ages* consider all of us as an *abandoned*

race

race of men, who, in purſuit of our vices, plunged our country into ruin?

We are apt to think ourſelves in favorable circumſtances, and that no great danger is near. We fondly imagine ourſelves, not only ſuperior to moſt other nations, but alſo to ourſelves, compared with paſt times: but *experience* does not countenance this opinion, and we muſt not compare the *preſent* times with the *paſt*, without taking in the *preſent ſtate* and condition of *other countries*. If the knowledge, and improvements, the power, ſtrength, and vigilance of other ſtates, are much greater than they were, and much greater than we *generally* apprehend, we have the greater occaſion for *vigilance*, *ſkill*, and *virtue*. If we judge from the effects of *war*, and the more dreadful devaſtations of *immorality*, it is reaſonable to expect, if other nations are more *brave*, or more *virtuous* than we are, they will be ſo much the more our *maſters*: in other words, as they *riſe*, we ſhall *fall*.

We look back with *reverence*, and admire the *glory* of the *antient Romans*; but notwith-

ſtanding all their *policy* and their *valor*, the greateſt object of admiration is, that they laſted ſo long. Their grandeur at length introduced ſuch *boundleſs luxury*, and *ſhameful corruption*, heaven could hardly have granted them a longer date. Their deluſive fondneſs of military achievements; their impatient deſire to *extend* their conqueſts, and impoſe their laws on mankind; their very ſucceſs in war, as well as their misfortunes in it, had a tendency to their *ruin*. What gives me hopes that heaven has mercy in ſtore for *us*, is, that amidſt our numerous *vices* and *follies*, we do not affect conqueſt, nor have any inclination to diſturb the repoſe of mankind, And indeed, who can believe it is pleaſing to a *God* of *infinite mercy*, to behold his creatures *deſtroying* each other?

Happy it has been ever thought for us, that the *Britiſh* empire is ſurrounded by the ſea. We may boaſt of this advantage; but whether it ariſes from the temper of the inhabitants of this iſland; or its great fertility to tempt invaders; no country has ſuffered greater, or more frequent convulſions. Notwithſtanding we are

yet

yet young in history, upon our present establishment, we have made vast improvements, and bravely emerged from *darkness* and *delusion*; but how easily may we plunge again into *misery* and *distress!*

Let us look up to heaven with the most zealous gratitude for all our *advantages*; and above all consider, what *faith*, or *moral law*, can secure the temporal happiness of a nation, on so steady a basis, as the tenets of christianity, being pure as we hold them? *Our* religion is founded on a *rock*, against which not all the powers of *hell* can ever prevail: if we obey its precepts, we ought to hope that the arm of *omnipotence* will be stretched out in our defence! This is not a *pious rhapsody:* the decrees of heaven are inscrutable! but when has the *Almighty* permitted ruin to overtake a *virtuous nation?* Great empires have sunk into oblivion: but when did this happen before the *morals* of the people were corrupted to an *incorrigible* degree?

We have still much to *hope*, though a great deal to *fear*. If the *defence* of liberty, for

which we have so often *bled*, join'd to the *corruption* under which we now *groan*, have exhausted vast sums, and plunged the state into difficulties with regard to the *public debt*, the *virtue* of *individuals* may still remedy this evil. It is not the *debt* which bears *most* heavily on us: it is not this which shakes the foundations of our safety and happiness: our *generosity of mind*, our *probity*, our *public love*, our *piety*; these are essential to our *preservation*, but they are *sullied*, their *lustre* is *obscured*; their *dignity* is *lost*. *Luxury* and *corruption*, are the causes of these evils, but I do not think they are incurable *diseases*: *God* forbid!

Commerce, which we so eagerly pursue, and have been so much aggrandized by, is most confessedly one of the chief causes of the *power* and *splendor* of states; but we see it is the spring of *luxury*, and in the final issue has often occasioned their *ruin*. We learn from the history of mankind what the *fate* of the greatest kingdoms has been; and how easily men betray themselves, by the means of those very

very *advantages* which ought in *reason* to inspire their hearts with *gratitude* and *obedience*, to *him* from whom those advantages are derived. Still we find that honor, justice and truth; in a word, that solid and substantial virtue is the only true basis on which government is built. Overturn these and all the wit of man cannot devise a rule by which a free state can subsist. And even arbitrary power is the more terrible, in proportion as these are forgotten or disregarded.

Without *neglecting* our wealth, common sense and self-preservation call on us to think seriously of *other means of support*. It has long been the *curse* of this nation, that *individuals* have thought very much of *riches* and *expence*, and very little of every thing beside. It is not *gold* or *silver*, *soldiers* or *horses*, *ships* or *merchandize*, *houses* or *gardens*, only; we want greater *numbers* of subjects fit for *labor*; we want more *knowledge* of the art of war; and above all the practice of *private* and *public oeconomy* in expence; with the wholesome *discipline* which virtue demands.

Those who imagine we are in danger from our *riches*, seem to argue from mistaken principles. Is not a great part of our riches divided amongst other nations? Shall we entertain so fond a notion as that the last *period* of our duration is at hand, because we have acquired *wealth*. Would to *God* we had more riches!

To sum up my thoughts, there are seven great objects which occur to me of great moment to us, as *candidates* either for *temporal* or *eternal happiness*. Some of them are in a fair way to become the objects of *legislative* enquiry; all of them may be so before we live much longer.

The *first* is, to *encourage marriage*, among midling sort of people and the poor; which is very practicable.

The *second* is, to discourage the use of that *man-bane* gin. *This ought to be done at all events!*

The *third*, to assist the *foundling-hospital* in the most *effectual manner*; — and to appoint some officer to superintend the care of children

in

in workhouses, that such methods may be used as are necessary to prevent the mortality of men in their *infant-state*, particularly in this metropolis.

The *fourth*, to *abandon the use of tea*, for the *many* reasons already urged; and, if it is necessary, to prevent a worse evil, to introduce other infusions of our own herbs in place of it.

The *fifth*, is to pay our *seamen* regularly, and to provide them regularly with such clothing, such *food*, and such *air* also (*a*), as experience teaches to be most proper and indispensably necessary, that if possible not one of these valuable men may perish by noxious air, avoidable sickness, or inclemency of weather.

These *five* points seem necessary, to support our safety, wealth and honor; to subdue our enemies; and to save the souls of our fellow-subjects. If we prefer our *luxury* to such

(*a*) That great benefactor to mankind, the reverend Dr. *Stephen Hales*, has at length obtained the acceptance of his *ventilators* in all our ships, which he tells me will save *multitudes* of lives.

weighty considerations, and think only of what we *can*, not of what we *ought* to enjoy: if we suffer these *evils* to pass *unremedied*, rather than abridge our *expences*: if we have not *courage* to correct our mistakes, and rectify our offences against *nature*, and *common sense*, what can we expect but *ruin?*

The *sixth* article which engages my thoughts, is to coin our *plate* in part, or in the whole; or solicit almost any kind of *tax*, rather than run deeper in *debt*; or rather than submit to *inglorious terms of peace*.

The *seventh*, which includes all we can wish or desire, is "*to fear God, and keep his commandments*." If we observe this rule, we shall not be guilty of any *violation* of the *rights* of *posterity*; nor incur the punishment of *ingratitude* to our *brave ancestors*. This will *inspire* us with the truest and the noblest sentiments of *both worlds*. By this, and indeed *by this alone*, we shall live in honor and felicity, and leave the world with the applause of *men* and *angels!*

Such

Such propositions to those who had rather their country should perish, than their own vanity and luxury be abridged, will appear as empty speculation, but it is not the less certain, that *true patriotism* is founded in a *just sense* of the *rights* of human nature, with a *rational* and a *tender* regard for others, though they should suffer their own reason to *sleep*. This is a virtue which can be supported only on the principles of true religion. This first pointed out the *form* of government which has rendered us *great* and *happy*: without this, the spirit which animated the form will be extinguished; the *form* itself will change: in other words, the *constitution* will be altered; and the means by which we became so *happy* no longer existing, *our grandeur and felicity must also fall.*

Let us thank heaven that *public love* is not yet become an unintelligible phrase! *Many understand* what it means, and *some* think it their honor to practise it. We have yet some gallant spirits *in place*, and some *not* in place, ready to die to serve their country. The genius of *Britain* still warms some honest breasts, which

which glow with zeal, to prove that they are influenced by virtuous principles. To suppose otherwise, is to give up the cause, which never will be *given* up whilst *one honest man* amongst us draws his breath.

Let us hope for the best: I would not hurt your brains with politics, nor yet *turn my own:* but as it is in your power to advance the happiness of your country, by walking in the true paths of virtue; demonstrate that you have the public good at heart; do your part; *correct yourself*; *rouze the indolent*; *shame the vicious.* If *women* become wiser and better, be assured that *men* will be less foolish and wicked. *We have much to fear:* the *impiety* of the nation is as notorious in many instances as the *folly* of it.

What conclusions are we to draw from our present rule of conduct? Either there is *no God*; or none who takes cognizance of our affairs. If there is a *God*, who is jealous of his honor, *sooner* or *later* he will vindicate his *laws*, and *punish* us for the breach of them. Nor is it sufficient to ask, "*are not other nations*

tions as wicked as ourselves?" Comparisons are extremely difficult to make, and generally very unprofitable, even between private persons, how much more between nations. It is commonly said, "there are the *best*, and *worst*, "people in the world, in *England*." The genius of our nation leads us to extremes; yet I question if this saying is *true*. Whether it is *in general* true or not, I apprehend, that we may challenge all the people under the heavens to enter the list with us for *three* things.

The *first*, is an eager desire of money, sometimes for the sake of luxurious pleasures; and what is more strange, sometimes when we already possess the greatest *superfluities* of life.

The *second*, is a traffic of selling *voices* or *consciences*.

The *third*; the treating *perjury* and *common swearing* as venial evils in practice, though we allow no such popish distinctions in theory.

In these instances, I question if there is any people under heaven so *wicked* as ourselves. We have reduced it to a kind of political *system*, to regard the *Almighty* as a very *careless*,

less, senseless being; or as one whose *power* is only an object of the fear of children. If this were not the case, would *peasants* dare to dispute, whether there is any *divine law* which forbids *taking money for a vote?* or whether such *human* inventions are obligatory? Could they *pun* on the breach of the commandments, and tell you, *He takes the Lord's name in vain*, who *takes nothing* for his vote, *not* him who receives *money for it?*

Woe be to that land whose peasants turn *casuists* to deceive their own souls! What *accumulated curses* must be expected to fall on their heads, who have taught them to be thus ingeniously wicked! Unhappy that nation, whose *ministers* act as if government could be carried on only by the means of *corruption*, since the more regular the administration of it, the more iniquitous must the people be; and the greater strides must they make to their own *ruin!* Good *God*, what a *system* is this! yet, were *venality* to stop with the *lower* classes, it might be hoped that heaven would with-hold its vengeance: but it goes *higher*; with some

change

change of circumstances, this *cancerous* humor is spread far and wide.

O liberty! heaven-born liberty, come with all thy powers, with all thy healing charms; teach us, for thou canst, how to defend ourselves; exert thy lenient arts, and cure our dangerous wounds!

Do not imagine, *Madam*, that this is rhapsody, nor yet a visionary fear, or false refinement. Nations differ in their *manners*, but with some distinctions the same causes generally produce the same effects: and I have constantly observed, in every clime in which I have drawn my breath, where corruption prevailed most, there the people have been most galled with the yoke of arbitrary power. *Despotism* reaches not indeed beyond the grave; it does not consign mens souls to everlasting perdition: but shall we *invite* a *despotic rule*, with all its terrors, to try if that can make us virtuous? When it pleases the Almighty that our just and pious monarch shall leave this *venal* land, if an *Aurelius* or a *Nero* reign, if *prostitution* of conscience is not less *fashionable*; if there is not less corruption, *slavery* must ensue.

The

The more considerable the part you act in this scene of *corruption*, the more you ought to harden your arms for *fetters*, instead of adorning them with *bracelets*, ; since if we do not alter *our measures*, be assured the time will come, heaven only knows how soon, when virtue will be imputed to you as a *crime*; when your pious repentance of the *sin* of subscribing to this destructive *plan*, so far as you may have really subscribed to it, will be punished as an *offence*; and your not continuing to abet it, will be considered as a contumacious opposition of an *established system* no longer to be opposed.

Whether we are more *wicked* than other nations, or not, I am sure we are not *yet* so much *punished*. If to live under an arbitrary yoke is a punishment, most other nations already suffer it. It is a *melancholy* consideration, which may be easily made, from observing the *connexions* and *dependences* of things, in every clime, under every kind of government. You will recollect what I have told you, that *labor* and *industry*, *arts* and *sciences* will produce *riches*; and riches excess, and excess corruption;

tion; and men have generally been more ready and more *willing* to *sell* their country, than to forego such enjoyments as are become habitual to them. Thus have monarchies been destroyed, and empires dissolved.

On the *other hand*, if we neglect the *means* of acquiring wealth, as the world is now constituted, we may easily become a prey to those who by the force of their riches can command the swords of thousands, and give laws to neighboring nations. For want of an *active spirit* in support of the liberty of a *free* state, men may also become the *slaves* of their *own rulers*; and where there is but *little* wealth, that *little* may become the *plunder* of a *few*, who may *ride* on the backs of the people, and drive them like *asses*, or yoke them like *Oxen*.

What then is to done? —— We must not forsake our *wealth* and *industry*; but neither is it permitted to *enjoy* the fruits of them in a *vicious manner*; if we do, we must suffer the *rod of affliction*. 'Tis no longer a subject of *dispute*: even he who *pretends* to be an *atheist* must

see

ſee that heaven will *aſſert its rights.* If we diſobey *his* laws, who made and governs the world, *ſlavery, poverty,* and *diſtreſs,* anguiſh and deſpair will be our lot at laſt. Let us not *flatter* ourſelves! Becauſe the Almighty does not ſpeak to us from the *battlements* of heaven, ſhall we therefore think he is a careleſs obſerver, or no obſerver at all, of what is paſſing in theſe regions? He who is omniſcient *cannot* be *ignorant:* he who is *omnipotent will not* with-hold his power, to *puniſh,* or to *reward.*

But could we ſuppoſe the world to be governed by *chance,* and that no *wiſe* and *ſupreme lawgiver* has any concern in the direction of it; yet it ſeems to be a contradiction to common ſenſe and experience, for a people to boaſt of *freedom*; to *bleed* for it too; and yet to give themſelves up to luxury and the love of *money*; paſſions as inconſiſtent with the generous ſentiments which the love of liberty inſpires, as virtue ſet off with all worldly advantages, is preferable to vice in rags. May we not then ſuſpect, that we are already become

ſlaviſh

slavish in mind, as well as stupid in understanding? Do we not aim at things diametrically opposite? There may be a very rich, and yet a *free* people; but how can we imagine *corruption* and *liberty* can long exist together? We see that great venality would absorb a public treasure were we masters of both the *Indies*: and can *arbitrary* power make greater havock than the *abuse* of *freedom*?

You may still give substantial proof of your *patriotism*, if you endevor to promote the *cause* of virtue; if you attend to your *domestic* affairs; if you pay your taxes from a sense of duty, and with a good grace; if you abstain from such customs as are too expensive to yourself, or *injurious* to the community; and among the latter, let me again intreat you, to *remember the laborious lesson I have given you upon tea.*

British ladies have been long considered the reverse of *mahommedan slaves.* Convince the world by your *actions*, that you have the truest notions of *liberty* and *honor*; and as just a contempt of him who prostitutes his voice, as of her who prostitutes her person. You

 have

have an equal right to *reason* and *religion*: you love *God*, you must love your *country* also. But if you are ignorant how to express that love, or neglect to *practise* what you *know*, you will *share* the evils it must bring on, and may live to *curse* past hours of *thoughtlessness* and *folly!*

Methinks I see the blood rise in your *face*; blood that flows from a heart which disdains the thought of sacrificing your country for any earthly good. I beg your pardon, *Madam*, I did not mean to *reproach*, but to *admonish*: we are all prone to *evil*, every *son*, as well as *daughter* of *Eve*, is apt to *err*. If you adopt opinions with a *blind* zeal, and take them for *virtue*: or, under a *silly* pretence that *politics* are not your *province*, *depreciate* your sex, *debase* your *dignity*, and neglect the duties of the rank in which providence has placed you; you will offend against common sense, as well as common virtue.

Whatever *noise* you hear on the subject of *patriotism*, be assured it belongs to *women* as well

well as *men*; and that *integrity of heart*, is a more essential mark of it, than *great learning*, *deep knowledge*, *tedious harangues*, or the most *flaming* expressions *in praise of liberty*. He that means to preserve his country, must make the *love* of it his ruling passion. He may likewise entertain *ambition*, but it must be the *noble ambition* of risking all to *save his country*.

Education, alas, has taken a wrong turn, in male and female: we have lost the simplicity of our manners, and the love of our country is, in a great degree, gone with it. The very phrase, *love of our country*, is generally treated as a mere pretence, or regarded as if it meant something *mysterious*, whereas no idea can be more *plain* and *simple*. *Private charity*, which proceeds from solid motives of piety and humanity, if it is attended with an improved understanding, will certainly grow into the *love of our country*; for what is this *love* but an *enlarged and extensive charity*; a beneficence which takes in the good of the whole? The more it is improved, the more it will *pu-*

rify, *enoble*, and *exalt* the mind: nothing can be a higher motive to *brave* and *generous* actions; and, consequently, nothing can render us more acceptable to the *great parent of mankind*, who guards and defends us *all*, in *life* and *death*.

How many lawgivers, philosophers and patriots; how many female-sovereigns and saints have submitted to *die* rather than give up their country's cause; rather than abandon the true interest of their fellow-citizens. To go up to the highest example amongst the race of men; if we consider Jesus Christ as a man, or as a jew, how does he lament the fate of his country! When he saw *Jerusalem* he *wept*, and broke out in this pathetic strain: *Hadst thou but known the things which belong to thy peace, but now are they hid from thine eyes!* And what was the business of *Messiah*, but to *save mankind?* What higher honor can a *mortal man* enjoy, than to do his utmost to *preserve*, or, as we generally term it, to *save* his *country?*

Before I finish my letter, methinks the world is vanishing from my sight! —My much *honored*, much *loved* friend is *dead!* — The *pious*, *in-*

intrepid, lively, intelligent captain *Hamilton* is no more! —— Though we may safely conclude his spirit possesses immortal happiness, not his friends only, but his country ought to deplore their loss.——Had it pleased heaven to grant him an *ample* share in *humbling* our enemies, how joyfully would he have resigned his breath! —— Our young friend the ingenious and melodious miss *Griesdale*, is also gone! Behold the *good*, the *brave*, the *innocent*, cut off before their time! The *life of man* truly passes away like a *shadow*; but the *end* will be substantial joy or misery! If you love yourself, act as if you thought so.

Of the *few* recorded in these humble pages, what a *change* may even six months more create! What is there here worth much *solicitude?* —— Shall we give up the *cause* of *virtue* for any thing *this* world can afford? —— Or shall we *seriously*, and in *good earnest*, prepare for that *tremendous day*, when only a well-spent life will be of *moment* to us? ——What *folly!* what *madness* it is, to distress our thoughts about the *common concerns of life*, which

which at most can be entitled only to a *secondary* regard. Let the *first* and important lesson be, not to utter sounds with our *tongues* only, but to speak from our *hearts*, "*In thee, O* "*Lord, have I put my trust, let me never be* "*brought to confusion; save and deliver me for* "*thy mercies sake*"!

However it may fare with us, or our friends, with regard to the *accidents* of life, or the *duration* of it, we are morally certain it will be *short*; that we shall leave *millions* behind us; that *new* generations of men will succeed them; and that the happiness of *their* lives will, in a great measure, depend on *our* conduct.—And let us strictly examine, if any thing bids so fair to obtain the ultimate *end* of our pursuits, I mean our own *eternal happiness*, as promoting the *welfare* of others; therefore, on this principle alone, had virtue *no charms*, nor carried any immediate *reward* along with it, *common sense* would teach us to do every thing in our power for the *common good*, since this includes the *welfare* of every *individual*. This ought to be our *constant* and *uniform* motive to action,

that

that even at the *last* hour, when we tremble on the *verge of eternity*, still we may look up to heaven, and say, "*Oh, save my country!*" I am, with great truth, *Madam*,

Your most *obedient*,

And most *sincere* servant,

H*****.

London, Feb. 28. 1756.

F I N I S.